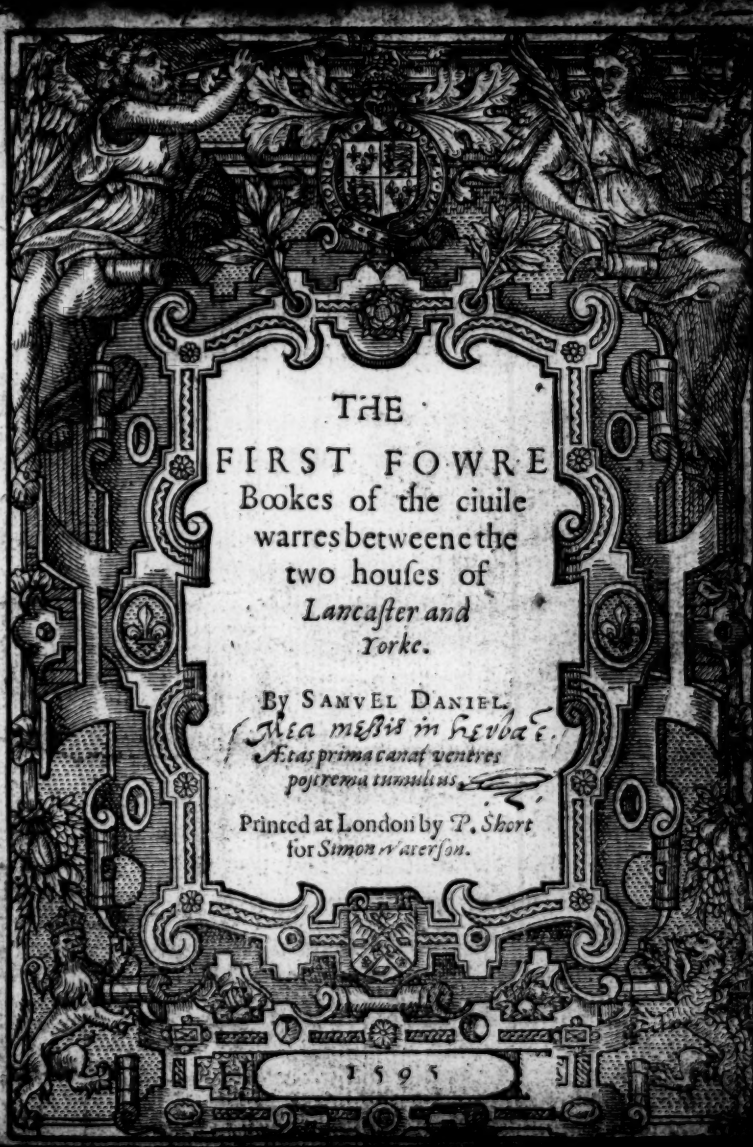

THE FIRST FOWRE Bookes of the ciuile warres betweene the two houses of *Lancaſter and Yorke.*

By SAMVEL DANIEL.

Mea meſſis in herba.
Ætas prima canat veneres poſtrema tumultus.

Printed at London by *P. Short* for *Simon Waterſon.*

1595

SAMUEL DANIEL,

one of the Groomes of his Majesties most honorable Privie Chamber.

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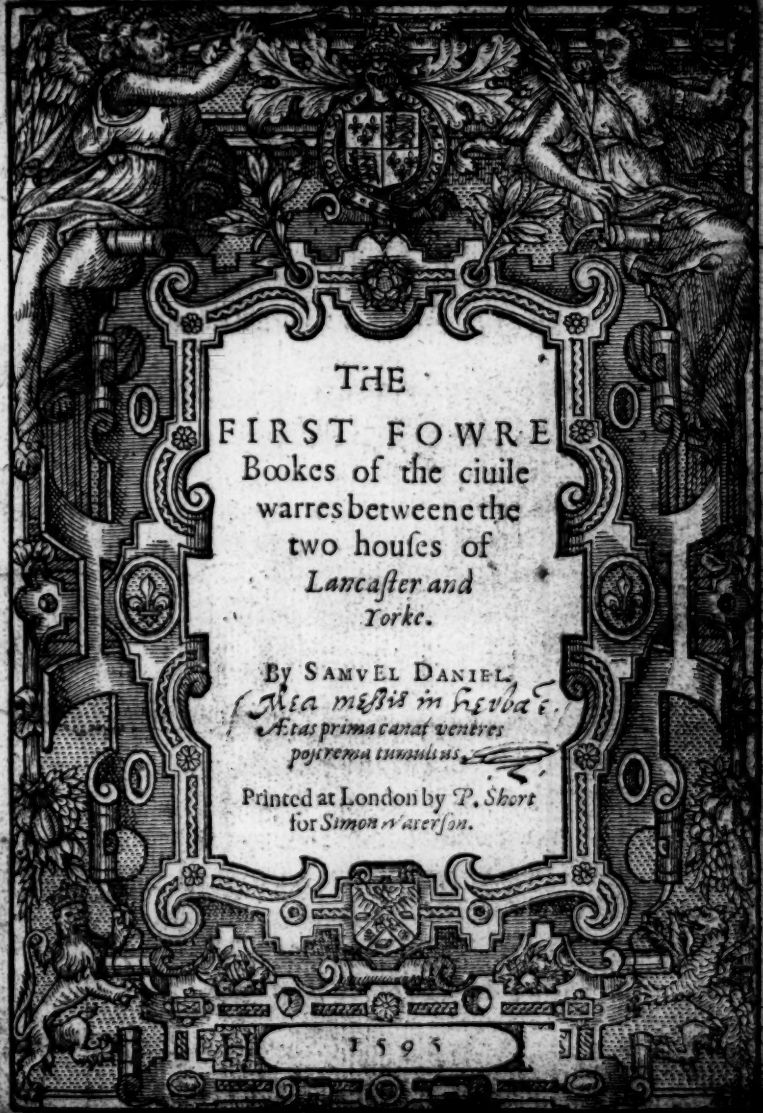

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Mea messis in herba est.
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1595

THE ARGVMENT OF THE FIRST BOOKE.

What times forgoe Richard *the seconds raigne:*
The fatall causes of this ciuile warre
His Vnckles pride, his greedie Minions gaine,
Glosters *reuolt, and death deliuered are;*
Herford *accusd, exild, call'd backe againe,*
Pretends t'amend what others Rule did marre.
The King from Ireland, *hastes but did no good,*
Whilst strange prodigious signes foretoken blood.

1

I Sing the ciuil warrs, tumultuous broyles,
And bloudy factions of a mighty land:
Whose people hauty, proud with forain spoyles
Vpon themselues, turne back their conquering hand:
Whilst Kin their Kin, brother the brother foyles,
Like Ensignes all against like Ensignes band:
Bowes against bowes, the Crowne against the crowne,
Whil'st all pretending right, all right throwen downe.

2

What furie, ô what madnes held you so
Deare people to too prodigall of bloud?
To waſt ſo much and warre without a foe,
Whilſt *France* to ſee your ſpoyles, at pleaſure ſtood;
How much might you haue purchaſd with leſſe wo?
Thaue done you honor and your Nephewes good,
Yours might haue beene what euer lies betweene
The *Perenei* and *Alps*, *Aquitayne*, and *Rheine*.

3

And yet ô God wee haue no cauſe to plaine
Since hereby came, the quiet calme we ioye
The bliſſe of thee ELIZA, happie gaine
For all our loſſe; for that no other waye
The heauens could find, then vnite againe
The fatall ſeu'red families; that they
Might bring forth thee; that in thy peace might grow
That glory which no age could euer ſhow.

4

O ſacred Goddeſſe, I no muſe but thee
Invoke in this great worke I now entend,
Do thou inſpire my thoughts, infuſe in mee
A power to bring the ſame to happie end:
Raiſe vp a worke for latter times to ſee
That may thy glorie and my paines commend:
Strengthen thy ſubiect ſtrang thinges to rehearſe
And giue peace to my life, life to my verſe.

5

And thou *Charles Mountioy* borne the worldes
That haſt receiu'd into thy quiet ſhore (delight,
Me tempeſt-driuen fortune-toſſed wight,
Tir'd with expecting and could hope no more:
And cheereſt on my better yeares to write
A ſadder Subiect then I tooke before,
Receiue the worke I conſecrate to thee
Borne of that reſt which thou doſt giue to mee.

6

And MEMORIE, preſerureſſe of thinges done,
Come thou, vnfold the wounds, the wracke, the waſt,
Reueale to me how all the ſtrife begunne
Twixt *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* in ages paſt.
How cauſes, counſels and euents did runne
So long as theſe vnhappie times did laſt,
Vnintermixt with fictions, fantaſies;
I verſifie the troth, not poetize.

7

And to the end we maie with better eaſe
Iudge the true progreſſe; here bigin to ſhowe
What weare the times foregoing nere to theaſe,
That theſe we maie with better profit knowe:
Tell how the world fell into this diſeaſe
And how ſo great diſtemperature did growe,
So ſhall we ſee by what degrees it came
How thinges grown full, do ſone grow out of frame.

8

Ten kings had now raignd of the *Norman* race
With variable fortune turning chaunce,
All in two hundreth sixtie one yeares space,
When *Edward* third of name and first of *Fraunce*
Possest the crowne in fortunes higheſt grace;
And did to greateſt ſtate, his ſtate aduaunce,
When *England* might the largeſt limits ſee
That euer any king attaind but hee.

9

For moſt of all the reſt, toyld in vnreſt
What with wrong titles, what with inward broyl,
Hardlie a true eſtabliſhment poſſeſt
Of what they fought with ſuch exceeding toyle:
For why their power within it ſelf oppreſt, (while;
Scarce could breake forth to greatnes al that
Such wo the childhood of this ſtate did paſſe
Before it could attaine to what it waſſe.

10

William the Conqueror. For firſt the *Norman* conquering all by might,
By might was forſt to keepe what hee had got:
Altring the lawes, chaunging the forme of *Right*,
And placing barbarous Cuſtomes he had brought:
Maiſtring the mighty, humbling the poorer wight
With grieuous taxes tyranie had fought,
Scarce laide th'aſſured groundes to build vpon
The chaunge ſo hatefull in ſuch courſe begon.

11

William his ſonne tracing the ſelfeſame wayes *William Rufus.*
The great outworne with war, or ſlaine in peace
Onely vpon depreſſed weakenes prayes,
And treades down what was likelieſt to increaſe,
Thoſe that were left, being left to wofull daies,
Had onely powre to wiſh for ſome releaſe:
whilſt giuing beaſtes what did to men pertaine
Tooke for a beaſt himſelfe was after ſlaine.

12

Henrie his brother raignes when he had donne *Henry 1.*
(who *Roberts* title better to reiect)
The *Norman Duke* the Conquerours firſt ſonne,
Lightens in ſhew, rather then in effect
Thoſe greeuances, his fatall race begunne
Reformes the lawes which ſoone he did neglect:
Whoſe ſons being drownd for whō he did prepare
Leaues crowne & ſtrife to *Maud* his daughters care.

13

Whom *Stephen* his Nephew (falſifying his oath)
Preuents; aſſailes the Realm; obtaines the crown: *King Stephen.*
Raiſing ſuch tumults as torment them both
Whil'ſt both held nothing certainlie their owne.
Th'afflicted Realme deuided in their troth,
And partiall faith; moſt miſerable growne,
Endures the while; till peace and *Stephens* death
Conclude ſome hope, of quiet, to take breath.

14

Henry 2. The ſonne of *Maud* (from *Saxon* bloud deriu'd
By mothers line) ſucceeds th'vnrightfull king
Henrie the ſecond, in whoſe raigne reuiu'd
Th'oppreſſed ſtate, and firſt began to ſpring,
And ô if he had not beene too long liu'd
T'haue ſeene th'affliction that his age did bring
By his vngodly ſonnes; then happie man,
For they againſt him warr'd, for whom he wan

15

All *Ireland*, *Scotland*, th'Iles of *Orcades*,
Poytiers, *Guienna*, *Brittany* hee got,
And leades forth ſorrow from it ſelfe to theaſe,
Recouers ſtrength at home ſo feeble brought:
Giues courage to the ſtrong, to weaker eaſe;
Ads to the ſtate what *England* neuer fought:
Who him ſucceed (the forraine bloud out growne)
Are home born kings by ſpeech and birth our owne.

16

Lo hitherto the new borne ſtate in teares
Was in her raw and wayling infancie,
During a hundred two and twentie yeares
Vnder the hand of ſtraungers tyranny:
And now ſome better ſtrength and youth appeares
Which promiſes a glad recouery:
For hard beginnings haue the greateſt ſtates
What with their owne, or neighbourers debates.

Euen

17

Euen like to *Rheine* which in his birth oppreſt,
Strangled almoſt with rocks and mightie hils,
Workes out a way to come to better reſt,
Wars with the mountaines, ſtriues againſt their wils:
Bringes forth his ſtreames in vnitie poſſeſt
Into the quiet bed he proudlie fils,
Carrying that greatnes which he cannot keepe
Vnto his death and buriall in the deepe:

18

So did the worldes proud *Miſtres Rome* at firſt
Striue with a hard beginning, warr'd with need;
Forcing her ſtrong Confiners to the worſt,
And in her bloud her greatnes firſt did breed:
So *Spaine* at home with *Moores* ere forth it burſt
Did practize long and in it ſelfe did bleed;
So did our ſtate begin with her owne woundes
To try her ſtrength ere it enlarg'd her boundes.

19

But now comes *Richard* to ſucceed his ſire, *Richard 2.*
Who much the glorie of our armes increaſt,
His fathers limits bound not his deſire
He ſpreeds the Engliſh Enſignes in the Eaſt:
And whilſt his vertues would haue raiſd him hyer
Treaſon, and malice his great actions ceaſt:
A faithles brother and a fatall king
Cut off his growth of glory in the ſpring.

Which

20

K. Iohn. Which wicked brother contrarie to course
False *Iohn* vsurpes his *Nephew Arthurs* right,
Gets to the crowne by craft, by wrong, by force,
Rules it with lust, oppression, rigor, might:
Murders the lawfull heire without remorse,
Wherefore procuring all the worldes despight,
A Tyrant loth'd, a homicide conuented
Poysoned he dies, disgrac'd and vnlamented.

21

Henry 3. *Henrie* his sonne is chosen king, though young
And *Lewes* of *Fraunce* (elected first) beguilde,
After the mightie had debated long,
Doubtfull to choose a straunger or a child:
With him the Barons (in these times grown strõg)
Warre for their auncient lawes so long exild.
He graunts the *charter* that pretended ease
And kept his owne, yet did his owne appease.

22

Edw. 1. *Edward* his sonne a martiall king succeedes
Iust, prudent, graue, religious, fortunate:
Whose happy ordred raigne most fertile breeds
Plentie of mightie spirits to strength his state,
And worthy mindes, to manage worthy deeds
Th'experience of those times ingenerate:
For euer great imployment for the great
Quickens the bloud and honour doth beget.

And

23

And had not his mis-lead lasciuious sonne *Edward* 2.
Edward the second, intermitted so
The course of glorie happilie begunne
Which brought him, and his fauorites to woe:
That happy current without stop had runne
Vnto the full of his sonne *Edwards* flo:
But who hath often seene in such a state,
Father and sonne like good, like fortunate.

24

But now this great succeeder all repaires, *Edward* 3.
And rebrings-backe that discontinued good,
He builds vp strength and greatnes for his heires
Out of the vertues that adornd his bloud:
He makes his subiects Lords of more then theirs,
And sets their bounds farre wider then they stood:
Could greatnes haue but kept what he had gote
It was enough he did, and what he wrought.

25

And had his heire surviu'd him in due course, *Edward the blackprince who died before his father.*
What limits England had't thou found, what barre?
What world could haue resisted so great force?
O more then men! two thunderbolts of warre,
Why did not time your ioined worth diuorse
T'haue made your seuerall glories greater farre?
Too prodigall was nature thus to doe,
To spend in one age, what should serue for two.

26

Rich. 3. But now the ſcepter in this glorious ſtate
Supported with ſtrong powre and victorie
Was left vnto a child, ordain'd by fate
To ſtay the courſe of what might grow too hie:
Here was a ſtop that greatnes did abate
When powre vpon ſo weake a baſe did lie,
For leſt great fortune ſhould preſume too farre
Such oppoſitions interpoſed are.

27

Neuer this Iland better peopled ſtood,
Neuer more men of might, and mindes addreſt,
Neuer more Princes of the royall bloud,
(If not too many, for the publique reſt)
Nor euer was more treaſure, wealth and good,
Then when this *Richard* firſt the crowne poſſeſt
Second of name, a name in two accurſt,
And well we might haue miſt all but the firſt.

28

In this mans raigne began this fatall ſtrife
The bloudy argument whereof we treate;
That dearely coſt ſo many' a Prince his life;
That ſpoild the weake, & euen conſum'd the great,
That, wherein all calamitie was rife
That memory euen grieues her to repeate (loſe,
And would that time would now this knowledge
But that tis good to learne by others woes.

Edward

29

Edward the third being dead, had left this child
Sonne of his worthy sonne deceasd of late
The crowne and Scepter of this Realme to wield,
Appointing the protectors of his state
Two of his sonnes to be his better shield,
Supposing vnckles free from guile or hate
Would order all things for his better good,
In the respect and honour of their bloud.

30

Of these *John* Duke of *Lancaster* was one,
(Too great a subiect growne, for such a state
The title of a king and what h'had done
In great exploits his mind did eleuate
Aboue proportion kingdomes stand vpon,
Which made him push at what his issue gate)
The other *Edmond Langley*, whose milde sprite
Affected quiet and a safe delight.

31

With these did interpose his proud vnrest
Thomas of woodstocke, one most violent,
Impatient of command, of peace, of rest, (ment:
Whose brow would shew, that which his hart had
His open malice and repugnant brest
Procur'd much mischiefe by his discontent:
And these had all the charge of king and state,
Till by himselfe he might it ordinate.

32

And in the first yeares of this gouernement,
Things past, as first; the warres in *Fraunce* proceede
Though not with that same fortune and euent
Being now not followed with such carefull heed,
Our people here at home growne discontent
Through great exactions insurrections breed,
Priuate respectes hindred the common weale,
And idle ease doth on the mighty steale.

33

Too many kings breed factions in the court,
The head too weake, the members grown too great:
O this is that which kingdomes doth transport,
This plague the heauens do for iniustice threat
When children rule, who euer in this sort
Confound the state their aunceſtors did get;
For the ambitious once inur'd to raigne
Can neuer brooke a priuate state againe.

34

And kingdomes euer suffer this distresse,
For one or manie guide the infant king,
Which one or manie, tasting this excesse
Of greatnes and command; can neuer bring
Their thoughts againe t'obay or to be lesse:
From hence these insolencies euer spring,
Contempt of others whom they seeke to foile,
Then follow leagues, destruction, ruine, spoile.

Whe-

35

Whether it were that they which had the charge
Suffred the king to take a youthfull vaine,
That they their priuate better might inlarge:
Or whether he himselfe would farther straine
(Thinking his yeares sufficient to discharge
The gouernment) presumd to take the raigne,
We will not saie: but now his eare he lendes
To youthfull counsell, and his lusts attends.

36

And courts were neuer barren yet of those
Which could with subtle traine and apt aduise
Worke on the Princes weakenes, and dispose
Of feeble frailtie easiest to intice:
And such no doubt about this king arose,
Whose flattery (the daungerous nurse of vice)
Got hand vpon his youth to pleasures bent
Which lead by them did others discontent.

37

For now his vnckles grew much to mislike
These ill proceedings; were it that they saw,
That others fauor'd did aspiring seeke
Their nephew from their counsels to withdraw,
Seeing his nature flexible and meeke,
Because they onely would keepe all in awe:
Or that indeed they found the king and state
Abusde by such as now in office sate.

38

Or rather elſe they all were in the fault,
Th'ambitious vnckles, th'indiſcreet young king,
The greedy counſell and the Minions naught,
And all togither did this tempeſt bring;
Beſides the times withall iniuſtice fraught,
Concurr'd in this confuſd diſordering,
That we may truly ſay this ſpoild the ſtate;
Youthfull Counſell, priuate gaine, partiall hate.

39

And ſure the king plainly diſcouereth
Apparant cauſe his vnckles to ſuſpect;
For *Iohn* of *Gaunt* was ſaid to ſeeke his death
By ſecret meanes, which came not to effect:
The Duke of *Gloſter* likewiſe practiſeth
In open world that all men might detect
And leagues his Nobles, and in greateſt ſtrength
Riſes in armes againſt him too at length.

40

Vnder pretence from him to take away
Such as they ſaid the ſtates oppreſſors weare,
To whom the Realme was now become a pray;
The chiefe of whom they nam'd was *Robert Vere*
Then Duke of Ireland; bearing greateſt ſway
About the king, who held him only dere,
Him they would haue remou'd and diuers more,
Or elſe would neuer lay downe armes they ſwore.

41

The king was forst in that next Parliment
To grant them what he durst not well refuse,
For thither arm'd they came and fully bent
To suffer no repulse nor no excuse:
And here they did accomplish their intent
Where iustice did her sword, not ballance vse:
For euen that sacred place they violate
And there arest the Iudges as they sate.

42

Which soone with many others had their end,
Cruelly slaine without the course of right,
And still these warres that publique good pretend
Worke most iniustice being done for spight:
For the agrieued euermore doe bend
Against those whom they see of greatest might,
Who though themselues are wrong'd & often forst,
Yet for they can doe most are thought the worst.

43

And yet I doe not seeme herein to excuse
The Iustices, and Minions of the king
Which might their office and their grace abuse,
But onely blame the course of managing:
For great men too well grac'd much rigor vse;
Presuming fauorites mischiefe euer bring;
So that concluding I may boldly speake,
Minions too great, argue a king too weake.

Now

44

Now that so much was granted as was sought,
A reconcilement made although not ment
Appeasd them all in shew, but not in thought
Whilst euery one seem'd outwardlie content:
Though hereby king, nor peeres, nor people got
More loue, more strength, or easier gouernment;
But euery day things now succeeded worse,
For good from kings must not be drawne by force.

45

And this it lo continued till by chance (dy'de;
The Queene (which was the emperours daughter)
When as the king t'establish peace with *Fraunce*
And better for home quiet to prouide,
Sought by contracting marriage to aduance
His owne affaires against his vnckles pride:
Tooke the young daughter of king *Charles* to wife
Which after in the end raisd greater strife.

46

For now his vnckle Gloster much repin'd
Against this french aliance and this peace,
Hauing himselfe a working stirring mind
Which neuer was content the warres should cease:
Whether he did dishonourable finde
Those articles that did our boundes decrease;
And therfore storm'd because the crown had wrōg;
Or that he fear'd the king would grow too strong;

Or

47

Or whatsoeuer mou'd him; this is sure
Hereby he wrought his ruine in the end,
And was a fatall cause that did procure
The swift approching mischiefes that attend:
For lo the king no longer could indure
Thus to be croſt in what he did intend,
And therefore watcht but some occasion fit
T'attach the Duke when he thought least of it.

48

And fortune now to further this intent
The great *Earle* of *S. Paule* doth hither bring,
From *Charles* of *Fraunce* vnto the young Q. sent
To see both her and to salute the king:
To whom he shewes his vnckles discontent
And of his secret dangerous practising,
How he his subiects sought to sulleuate
And breake the league with *Fraunce* concluded late.

49

To whom the suttle *Earle* forthwith replies,
Great Prince it is within your power with ease,
To remedy such feares, such ielousies,
And rid you of such mutiners as these;
By cutting off that which might greater rise,
And now at first preuenting this disease,
And that before he shall your wrath disclose,
For who threates first means of reuenge doth lose.

50

First take his head, then tell the reason why,
Stand not to finde him guilty by your lawes,
Easier you shall with him your quarrell try
Dead then aliue who hath the better cause:
For in the murmuring vulgar vsually
This publique course of yours compassion drawes,
Especially in cases of the great
Which worke much pitty in the vndiscreat.

51

And this is sure though his offence be such,
Yet doth calamitie attract commorse,
And men repine at Princes bloudshed much
How iust-soeuer iudging tis by force:
I know not how their death giues such a tuch
In those that reach not to a true discourse;
That so shall you obseruing formall right
Be still thought as vniust and win more spight.

52

And oft the cause, may come preuented so,
And therefore when tis done, let it be heard;
So shall you hereby scape your priuate wo
And satisfie the world to, afterward:
What need you weigh the rumors that shall go?
What is that breath being with your life compard?
And therefore if you will be rul'd by me
Strangled or poison'd secret let him be.

53

And then araigne the chiefe of those you find
Were of his faction secretly compact,
Whom you maie wisely order in such kind
That you maie such confessions then exact,
As both you maie appease the peoples mind
And by their death much aggrauate the fact:
So shall you rid your selfe of dangers quite
And shew the world that you haue done but right.

54

This counsell vttred vnto such an eare
As willing listens to the safest waies,
Workes on the yeelding matter of his feare,
Which easelie to any course obeies:
For euerie Prince seeing his daunger neere
By anie meanes his quiet peace assaies:
And still the greatest wronges that euer were
Haue then bin wrought when kings were put in fear.

55

And long it was not ere he apprehendes
The Duke, who close to *Calice* was conuei'd,
And th' Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwike* sendes,
Both in close prisons strongly to be laid;
And soone the Duke his life vnquiet endes,
Strangled in secret ere it was bewraide;
And *Arundell* was put to publike death,
But *Warwike* by great meanes he banisheth.

56

And for his person he procures a guard
A thousand Archers daily to attend,
Which now vpon the act he had prepard
As th'argument his actions to defend:
But yet the world had now conceiu'd so hard
That all this nought auaild him in the end:
In vaine with terror is he fortified
That is not guarded with firme loue beside.

57

Now storme his vnckles albeit in vaine,
For that no remedy they could deuise,
They might their sorrowes inwardly complaine,
But outwardly they needs must temporise:
The king was great, and they should nothing gaine
T'attempt reuenge or offer once to rise, (strong
This league with *Fraunce* had made him now so
That they must needs as yet indure this wrong.

58

For like a Lion that escapes his bounds
Hauing bin long restraind his vse to straie,
Raunges the restles woods, staies on no ground,
Riottes with bloudshed, wantons on his praie:
Seekes not for need but in his pride to wound,
Glorying to see his strength and what he may;
So this vnbridled king freed of his feares
In libertie himselfe thus wildly beares.

59

For ſtanding on himſelfe he ſees his might
Out of the compaſſe of reſpectiue awe,
And now beginnes to violate all right
While no reſtraining feare at hand he ſaw:
Now he exactes of all, waſts in delight,
Riots in pleaſure, and neglects the law;
He thinkes his crowne is licenſd to do ill
That leſſe ſhould liſt, that may do what it will.

60

Thus b'ing tranſported in this ſenſuall courſe
No frend to warne, no counſell to withſtand,
He ſtill proceedeth on from bad to worſe,
Sooth'd in all actions that he tooke in hand
By ſuch as all impiety did nurſe,
Commending euer what he did commaund:
Vnhappy kings that neuer may be taught
To know themſelues or to diſcerne their fault.

61

And whilſt all ſylent grieue at what is donne,
The Duke of Herford then of courage bold
And worthily great Iohn of *Gaunts* firſt ſonne
Vtters the paſſion which he could not hold,
In ſad diſcourſe vpon this courſe begun,
Which he to *Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke told;
To th'end he being great about the king
Might doe ſome good by better counſelling.

62

Froiſart. Pol. Virg. & Hall, deliuer it in this ſort.

The faithles Duke that preſentlie takes hold
Of ſuch aduantage to inſinuate
Haſtes to the king, peruerting what was told,
And what came of good minde he makes it hate:
The king that might not now be ſo controld
Or cenſur'd in his courſe, much frets thereat;
Sendes for the Duke, who doth ſuch wordes deny
And craues the combate of his enemy.

63

Which ſtraight was granted, and the daie aſſign'd
When both in order of the field appeare
To right each other as th' euent ſhould find,
And now both euen at point of combate were
When lo the king changd ſodenly his mind,
Caſts downe his warder and ſo ſtaies them there,
As better now aduiſd what waie to take
Which might for his aſſured ſafety make.

64

For now conſidering (as it likely might)
The victorie ſhould hap on *Herfords* ſide,
A man moſt valiant and of noble ſprite,
Belou'd of all, and euer worthy tride:
How much he might be grac'd in publique ſight
By ſuch an act as might aduance his pride,
And ſo become more popular by this,
Which he feares, too much he already is.

And

65

And therefore he resolues to banish both,
Though th'one in chiefest fauour with him stood,
A man he dearely lou'd and might be loth
To leaue him that had done him so much good:
Yet hauing cause to do as now he doth
To mitigate the enuie of his bloud,
Thought best to loose a friend, to rid a foe,
And such a one as now he doubted so.

66

And therefore to perpetuall exile hee
Mowbray condemnes; *Herford* but for ten yeares:
Thinking (for that the wrong of this decree
Compard with greater rigour lesse appeares)
It might of all the better liked be:
But yet such murmuring of the fact he heares,
That he is faine foure of the ten forgiue,
And iudg'd him sixe yeares in exile to liue.

67

At whose departure hence out of the land,
O how the open multitude reueale
The wondrous loue they bare him vnderhand,
Which now in this hote passion of their zeale
They plainely shewde that all might vnderstand
How deare he was vnto the common weale:
They feard not to exclaime against the king
As one that sought all good mens ruining.

68

Vnto the ſhore with teares, with ſighes, with mone
They him conduct, curſing the bounds that ſtaie
Their willing feete that would haue further gone
Had not the fearefull *Ocean* ſtopt their way:
Why *Neptune* haſt thou made vs ſtand alone
Deuided from the world, for this ſay they?
Hemd in to be a ſpoile to tyranny
Leauing affliction hence no way to flie?

69

Are we lockt vp poore ſoules, here t'abide
Within the watery priſon of thy waues,
As in a fold, where ſubiect to the pride
And luſt of rulers we remaine as ſlaues?
Here in the reach of might, where none can hide
From th' eie of wrath, but onely in their graues?
Happy confiners you of other landes
That ſhift your ſoile and oft ſcape tyrants hands.

70

Ah muſt we leaue him here; that here were fit
We ſhould retaine the pillar of our ſtate;
Whoſe vertues well deſerue to gouerne it,
And not this wanton young effeminate?
Why ſhould not he in regall honour ſit,
That beſt knowes how a realme to ordinate?
Yet one daie ô we hope thou ſhalt bring backe
Deare *Bullingbrooke* the iuſtice that we lacke.

Thus

71

Thus muttred lo the malecontented ſort
That loue kings beſt before they haue them ſtill,
And neuer can the preſent ſtate comport,
But would as oft change as they change their will:
For this good Duke had wonne them in this ſort
By ſuckring them and pittying of their ill,
That they ſuppoſed ſtraight it was one thing,
To be both a good man, and a good king.

72

When as the grauer ſort that ſaw the courſe
And knew that Princes maie not be controlde,
Likt wel to ſuffer this for feare of worſe;
Since many great, one kingdome cannot hold:
For now they ſaw inteſtine ſtrife of force
The apt-deuided ſtate intangle would,
If he ſhould ſtay whom they would make their head,
By whom the vulgar body might be lead.

73

They ſaw likewiſe that Princes oft are faine
To buy their quiet with the price of wrong:
And better twere that now a few complaine
Then all ſhould morne, aſwell the weake as ſtrong:
Seeing how little *Realmes* by change doe gaine,
And therefore learned by obſeruing long
T' admire times paſt, follow the preſent will
Wiſh for good Princes, but t' indure the ill.

74

For when it nought auailes what folly then
To ſtriue againſt the current of the time?
Who will throw downe himſelfe for other men
That make a ladder by his fall to clime?
Or who would ſeeke t'imbroile his country when
He might haue reſt; ſuffering but others crime?
Since wiſemen euer haue preferred farre
Th'vniuſteſt peace, before the iuſteſt warre.

75

Thus they conſidered that in quiet ſate,
Rich or content, or elſe vnfit to ſtriue:
Peace louer-wealth, hating a troublous ſtate
Doth willing reaſons for their reſt contriue:
But if that all were thus conſiderate
How ſhould in court the great, the fauour'd thriue?
Factions muſt be and theſe varieties,
And ſome muſt fall that other ſome may riſe.

76

But long the Duke remaind not in exile
Before that *Iohn* of *Gaunt* his father dies,
Vpon whoſe ſtate the king ſeaſd now this while
Diſpoſing of it as his enemies:
This open wrong no longer could beguile
The world that ſaw theſe great indignities,
Which ſo exaſperates the mindes of all
That they reſolu'd him home againe to call.

77

For now they saw twas malice in the king
Transported in his il-conceiued thought,
That made him so to prosecute the thing
Against all law and in a course so naught:
And this aduantage to the Duke did bring
Fitter occasions whereupon he wrought:
For to a man so strong and of such might
He giues him more, that takes away his right.

78

The king, in this meane time, I know not how
Was drawne into some actions forth the land,
T' appease the *Irish* that reuolted now;
And there attending what he had in hand (grow,
Neglects those parts from whence worse daungers
As ignorant how his affaires did stand:
Whether the plot was wrought it should be so,
Or that his fate did draw him on to go.

79

Certaine it is that he committed here
An ignorant and idle ouersight,
Not looking to the Dukes proceedings there,
Being in the court of *Fraunce* where best he might,
Where both the king and all assured were
T' haue stopt his course being within their right:
But being now exild he thought him sure
And free from farther doubting liu'd secure.

80

So blindes the sharpest counsels of the wise
This ouershadowing prouidence on hie,
And dazeleth the cleerest sighted eies,
That they see not how nakedly they lie:
There where they little thinke the storme doth rise,
And ouercasts their cleare security:
When man hath stopt al waies saue only that
That (least suspected) ruine enters at.

81

And now was all disorder in th' excesse
And whatsoeuer doth a change portend,
As idle luxury, and wantonnes,
Proteus-like varying pride, vaine without end:
Wrong-worker *Riot*, motiue to oppresse,
Endles exactions, which the idle spend,
Consuming vsury and credits crackt,
Cald on this purging warre that many lackt.

82

Then ill perswading want in martiall minds,
And wronged patience, long oppresst with might,
Loosenes in all, which no religion bindes,
Commaunding force the measure made of right,
Gaue fuell to this fire, that easie findes
The way t' inflame the whole indangerd quite:
These were the publique breeders of this warre,
By which stil greatest states confounded are.

For

83

For now this peace with *Fraunce* had ſhut in here
The ouergrowing humours warres doe ſpend,
For where t' euacuate no employments were
Wider th' vnwildy burthen doth diſtend;
Men wholy vſd to warre, peace could not beare;
As knowing no courſe elſe whereto to bend:
For brought vp in the broiles of theſe two Realmes,
They thought beſt fiſhing ſtill in troubled ſtreames.

84

Like to a riuer that is ſtopt his courſe
Doth violate his bankes, breakes his owne bed,
Deſtroies his bounds and ouer-runs by force
The neighbour fields irregularly ſpread:
Euen ſo this ſodaine ſtop of warre doth nurſe
Home broiles within it ſelfe, from others lead:
So dangerous the change hereof is tride
Ere mindes come ſoft or otherwiſe imploid.

85

And all this makes for thee, ô *Bullingbrooke*,
To worke a waie vnto thy Soueraintie;
This care the heauens, fate and fortune tooke
To bring thee to thy ſcepter eaſily:
Vpon the fals that hap which him forſooke
Who crownd a king, a king yet muſt not die,
Thou wert ordaind by prouidence to raiſe
A quarrell laſting longer then thy daies.

86

For now this absent king out of his land,
Where though he shew'd great sprite and valor then,
(Being attended with a worthy band
of valiant Peeres, and most couragious men)
Gaue time to them at home that had in hand
Th' vngodly worke and knew the season when;
Who faile not to aduise the Duke with speed,
Solliciting to what he soone agreed.

87

For presently vpon so good report,
He doth with cunning traine and pollicy
Conuay himselfe out of the French kings court
Vnder pretence to go to Brittanie:
And with his followers that to him resort
Landed in England. Welcom'd ioyfully
Of th' altring vulgar apt for changes still
As headlong caried with a present will.

88

And com'd to quiet shore but not to rest,
The first night of his ioyfull landing here
A fearefull vision doth his thoughts molest,
Seeming to see in wofull forme appeare
A naked goodly woman all distrest,
Which with ful-weeping eies and rent-white haire,
Wringing her hands as one that grieud and praid,
With sighes commixt, with words it seem'd shee said.

89

O whither doſt thou tend my vnkind ſonne?
What miſchiefe doſt thou go about to bring
To her whoſe *Genius* thou here lookſt vpon,
Thy mother countrey whence thy ſelfe didſt ſpring?
O whither doſt thou in ambition run,
To change due courſe by foule diſordering?
What bloudſhed, ô what broyles doſt thou cõmence
To laſt for many wofull ages hence?

90

Stay here thy foote, thy yet vnguilty foote,
That canſt not ſtay when thou art farther in,
Retire thee yet vnſtaind whilſt it doth boote,
The end is ſpoile of what thou doſt begin:
Iniuſtice neuer yet tooke laſting roote,
Nor held that long impiety did win:
The babes vnborne, ſhall ô be borne to bleed
In this thy quarrell if thou doe proceede.

91

Thus ſaid ſhee ceaſt, when he in troubled thought
Grieu'd at this tale and ſigh'd, and this replies:
Deare Country ô I haue not hither brought
Theſe Armes to ſpoile but for thy liberties:
Tho ſinne be on their head that this haue wrought
Who wronged me firſt, and thee doe tyranniſe;
I am thy Champion and I ſeeke my right,
Prouokt I am to this by others ſpight.

This

92

This this pretence saith shee, th' ambitious finde
To smooth iniustice, and to flatter wrong:
Thou dost not know what then will be thy mind
When thou shalt see thy selfe aduanc'd and strong:
When thou hast shak'd off that which others binde,
Thou soone forgettest what thou learnedst long:
Men doe not know what then themselues will be
When as more then themselues, themselues they see.

93

And herewithall turning about he wakes,
Lab'ring in sprite, troubled with this strange sight:
And musd a while, waking aduisement takes
Of what had past in sleepe and silent night.
Yet hereof no important reck'ning makes
But as a dreame that vanisht with the light:
The day designes, and what he had in hand
Left it to his diuerted thoughts vnskand.

94

Doubtfull at first, he warie doth proceed
Seemes not t' affect, that which he did effect,
Or els perhaps seemes as he ment indeed,
Sought but his owne, and did no more expect:
Then fortune thou art guilty of his deed,
That didst his state aboue his hopes erect,
And thou must beare some blame of his great sin
That left'st him worse then when he did begin.

Thou

95

Thou didst conspire with pride, and with the time
To make so easie an assent to wrong,
That he that had no thought so hie to clime,
(With fauoring comfort still allur'd along)
Was with occasion thrust into the crime,
Seeing others weakenes and his part so-strong:
And ô in such a case who is it will
Do good, and feare that maie liue free with ill.

96

We will not say nor thinke O *Lancaster*,
But that thou then didst meane as thou didst swere.
Vpon th' Euangelists at *Doncaster*,
In th' eie of heauen, and that assembly there
That thou but as an vpright orderer
Sought'st to reforme th' abused kingdome here,
And get thy right, and what was thine before,
And this was all, thou would'st attempt no more.

97

Though we might say & thinke that this pretence
Was but a shadow to th' intended act,
Because th' euent doth argue the offence
And plainely seemes to manifest the fact:
For that hereby thou might'st win confidence
With those whom els thy course might hap distract,
And all suspition of thy drift remoue,
Since easily men credit whom they loue.

98

But God forbid we ſhould ſo nerely pry
Into the low deepe buried ſinnes long paſt
T' examine and conferre iniquity,
Whereof faith would no memory ſhould laſt:
That our times might not haue t' exemplifie
With aged ſtaines, but with our owne ſhame caſt,
Might thinke our blot the firſt not done before,
That new-made ſins might make vs bluſh the more.

99

And let vnwreſting charity beleeue
That then thy oth with thy intent agreed,
And others faith, thy faith did firſt deceiue,
Thy after-fortune forc'd thee to this deed:
And let no man this idle cenſure giue
Becauſe th' euent proues ſo, twas ſo decreed:
For ô what counſels ſort to other end
Then that which frailty did at firſt intend?

100

Whilſt thoſe that are but outward lookers on,
That cannot ſound theſe miſteries of ſtate,
Deemes things were ſo contriu'd as they are done,
Holding that policie, that was but fate: (begun,
Wondring how ſtrange twas wrought, how cloſe
And thinke all actions elſe did tend to that,
When ô how ſhort they come, or caſt too fare
Making the happy wiſer then they are.

But

101

But by degrees he venters now on blood,
And sacrifiz'd vnto the peoples loue,
The death of those that chiefe in enuy stood
As th' Officers, who first those dangers proue:
The treasorer and those that they thought good,
Busby and *Greene* by death he must remoue,
These were the men the people thought did cause
Those great exactions and abusd the lawes.

102

This done, his cause was preacht with learned skil,
And th' Archbishop of Canterbury shew'd
A pardon sent from Rome, to all that will
Take part with him, and quit the faith they ow'd
To Richard, as a Prince vnfit and ill,
On whom the crowne was fatally bestow'd:
And easie-yeelding zeale was quickly caught
With what the mouth of grauity had taught.

103

O that this powre from euerlasting giuen
The great alliance made twixt God and vs,
Th' intelligence that earth doth hold with heauen,
Sacred religion, ô that thou must thus
Be made to smooth our waies vniust, vncuen,
Brought from aboue earth-quarrels to discusse,
Must men beguile our soules to winne our wils,
And make our zeale the furtherer of ils?

104

But the ambitious to aduance their might
Dispence with heauen and what religion would,
The armed will finde right, or else make right,
If this meanes wrought not, yet another should:
And this and other now doe all incite
To strengthe the faction that the Duke doth hold;
Who easily obtained what he sought,
His vertues and his loue so greatly wrought.

105

The king till buried in this Irish warre
Which by his valour there did well succeede,
Had newes how here his Lords reuolted are,
And how the Duke of Hereford doth proceede.
In these affaires he found are grewne too farre,
Hastes his returne from thence with greatest speed;
But was by tempests, windes, and seas debarr'd
As if they knew he had against him warr'd.

106

But at the length, though late, in wales he landes,
Where thoroughly informed of Herefords force,
And well aduertised how his owne cause stands,
Which to his griefe he sees tendes to the worse:
He leaues at Bristow, at Milford all those bandes
He brought from Ireland, taking thence his course
To Cornwale all disguisd with fourteene more
To th' Earle of Salisburie that ther lent before.

The Duke of Aumarle some times Duke of Yorke.

Thin-

107

Thinking the Earle had raisd some forces there
Whom there he findes forsaken all alone,
The people in those partes which leuied were
B'ing closely shronke away disperst and gone:
The king had stayd too long, and they in feare
Resolued euery man to shift for one,
At this amaz'd such fortune he laments,
Foresees his fall whereto each thing consents.

108

In this disturb'd tumultuous broken state,
Whilst yet th' euent stood doubtfull what should be,
Whilst nought but headlong running to debate
And glittering troupes and armor men might see;
Fury, and feare, compassion, wrath, and hate
Confusd through all the land no Corner free:
The strong all mad, to strife, to ruine bent;
The weaker waild, the aged they lament,

109

And blame their many yeares that liue so long
To see the horrour of these miseries:
Why had not we (said they) dyde with the strong
In forraine fields in honourable wise?
In iust exploits, and lawfull without wrong,
And by the valiant hand of enemies?
And not thus now reserued in our age
To home confusion and disordered rage.

110

Vnto the Temples flocke the weake deuout,
Sad wailing women, there to vow and pray
For husbands, brothers, or their sonnes gone out
To bloudshed, whom nor tears, nor loue could stay:
Here graue religious fathers which much doubt
The sad euents these broyles procure them may,
As Prophets warne, exclaime, dissuade these crimes
By the examples fresh of other times.

111

And ô what doe you now prepare said they,
Another conquest by these fatall waies?
What must your own hands make your selues a pray
To desolation, which these tumults raise?
What *Dane*, what *Norman*, shall prepare his way
To triumph on the spoile of your decaies?
That which nor France nor all the world could doe
In vnion, shall your discord, bring you to?

112

Conspire against vs neighbour nations all
That enuy at the height whereto w'are growne;
Coniure the barbarous North, and let them call
Straunge fury from far distant shores vnknowne,
And let them altogither on vs fall;
So to diuert the ruine of our owne,
That we forgetting what doth so incense
May turne the hand of malice to defence.

113

Calme theſe tempeſtuous ſpirits O mighty Lord,
This threatning ſtorme that ouer hangs the land,
Make them conſider ere they vnſheath the ſword
How vaine is th' earth, this point wheron they ſtand,
And with what ſad calamities is ſtoor'd
The beſt of that, for which th' Ambitious band:
Labor the end of labor, ſtrife of ſtrife,
Terror in death and horrour after life.

114

Thus they in zeale whoſe humbled thoughts were (good:
Whil'ſt in this wide ſpread volume of the skies,
The booke of prouidence diſcloſed ſtood,
Warnings of wrath, foregoing miſeries;
In lines of fire and caracters of blood,
There fearefull formes in dreadfull flames ariſe,
Amazing Comets, threatning Monarches might
And new-ſeene ſtarres, vnknowne vnto the night.

115

Red fiery dragons in the aire doe flie,
And burning Meteors, poynted-ſtreaming lights,
Bright ſtarres in midſt of day appeare in skie,
Prodigious monſters, gaſtly fearefull ſights:
Straunge Ghoſts, and apparitions terrifie,
The wofull mother her owne birth affrights,
Seeing a wrong deformed infant borne
Grieues in her paines, deceiu'd in ſhame doth morn.

The

116

The Earth as if afeard of bloud and woundes
Trembles in terror of these falling bloes:
The hollow concaues giue out groning sounds
And sighing, murmurs to lament our woes:
The Ocean all at discord with his boundes,
Reiterates his strange vntimely floes:
Nature all out of course to checke our course,
Neglects her worke to worke in vs remorse.

117

So great a wracke vnto it selfe doth lo
Disordered mortality prepare:
That this whole frame doth euen labour so
Her ruine vnto frailty to declare;
And trauailes to fore-signifie the wo,
That weake improuidence could not beware:
For heauen and earth, and aire and seas and all
Taught men to see, but not to shun their fall.

118

Is man so deare vnto the heauens that they
Respect the waies of earth, the workes of sin?
Doth this great all this vniuersall weigh
The vaine designes that weakenes doth begin?
Or doe our feare father of zeale make way
Vnto this errour ignorance liues in?
Making our faults the cause that moue these powres
That haue their cause from other cause then ours?

Or

119

Or doe the conſcience of our wicked deedes
Apply to ſinne the terrour of theſe ſights,
Hapning at the inſtant when commotion breedes
Amazing only timorous vulgar wights,
Who euer aggrauating that which feedes
Their feares, ſtill find out matter that affrights,
Whilſt th' impious fierce, neglecting feele no touch,
And weigh too light what other feare ſo much.

120

Ah no th' eternall powre that guides this frame
And ſerues him with the inſtruments of heauen
To call the earth and ſummon vp our ſhame,
By an edict from euerlaſting giuen;
Forbids mortality to ſearch the ſame,
Where ſence is blind, and wit of wit bereauen
Terror muſt be our knowledge, feare our skill,
T' admire his worke and tremble at his will.

121

And theſe beginnings had this impious warre,
Th' vngodly bloudſhed that did ſo defile
The beauty of thy fields, and euen did marre
The flowre of thy chiefe pride ô faireſt Ile:
Theſe were the cauſes that incenſd ſo farre
The ciuil wounding hand inragd with ſpoile,
That now the liuing with afflicted eie
Looke backe with griefe on ſuch calamity.

119

Ordoe the conscience of our wicked deedes
Apply to sinne the terrour of these sights,
Taking at the instant when commotion breedes
A maiming only timorous vulgar wights,
Who ouer aggrauating that which feedes
Their feares still find out matter that affrights,
Whilst the impious sie ceaseless ing feele no touch,
And weigh too light what other feare so much.

120

Ah no ta eternall powre that guides this frame
And serues him with the instruments of heauen
To call the [illegible] summon vp our shame,
By affected from euerlasting [illegible];
Forbids mortality to search the same,
Where sence is blind, and wit of wit bereauen
Terror must be our knowledge, feare our skill,
Pralmire his worke and tremble at his will.

121

And these beginnings had this impious warre,
Th'vngodly bloudshed that did so defile
The beauty of thy fields, and euen did marre
The flowre of thy chiefe pride o fair eselle:
These were the causes that incensd so farre
The ciuil wounding hand inragd with spoile,
That now the liuing with afflicted eie
Looke backe with griefe on such calamity.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE SECOND BOOKE.

King Richard *mones his wrong and wailes his raigne:*
And here betrayd to London *he is led,*
Basely attyrd attending Herfords *traine,*
Where th' one is skornd, the other welcomed.
His Wife *mistaking him doth much complaine*
And both together greatly sorrowed:
In hope to saue his life and ease his thrall
He yeelds vp state, and Rule, *and Crowne, and all.*

1

IN dearth of faith and scarsity of friends,
The late great mighty monarch on the shore
In th' vtmost corner of his land attends
To call backe false obedience fled before:
Toyles, and in vaine, his toile and labour spends,
More hearts he sought to gaine he lost the more:
All turn'd their faces to the rising sunne
And leaues his setting-fortune night begun.

2

O *Percy* how by thy example lead
The houſehold traine forſooke their wretched Lord,
When with thy ſtaffe of charge diſhonoured,
Thou brak'ſt thy faith, not ſteward of thy word,
And tookſt this part that after tooke thy head: (ſword;
When thine owne hand had ſtrengthned firſt his
For ſuch great merits doe obraid, and call
For great reward, or thinke the great too ſmall.

This Percy was Earle of Worceſter, and brother to the Earle of Northumberland.

3

And kings loue not to be beholding ought, (worſt:
Which makes their chiefeſt friends oft ſpeed the
For thoſe by whom their fortunes haue bin wrought
Put them in mind of what they were at firſt:
Whoſe doubtfull faith if once in queſtion brought
Tis thought they will offend becauſe they durſt,
And taken in a fault are neuer ſpar'd,
Being eaſier to reuenge, then to reward.

4

And thus theſe mighty actors ſonnes of change,
Theſe partizanes of factions, often tride
That in the ſmoake of innouations ſtrange
Build huge vncertaine plots of vnſure pride:
And on the hazard of a bad exchange
Haue venterd all the ſtocke of life beſide,
Whilſt Princes raiſd, diſdaine to haue beene raiſd
By thoſe whoſe helpes deſerue not to be praiſd.

5

O *Maieſtie* left naked all alone,
But with th' vnarmed title of thy right,
Thoſe gallant troupes, thy fortune followers gone;
And all that pompe (the complements of might)
Th' amazing ſhadowes that are caſt vpon
The cares of Princes, to beguile the ſight,
Are vaniſht cleane, and only frailty left
Thy ſelfe of all, beſides thy ſelfe bereft.

6

Like when ſome great *Coloſſus*, whoſe ſtrong baſe
Or mighty props are ſhronke or ſunke awaie,
Fore-ſhewing ruine, threatning all the place
That in the danger of his fall doth ſtay,
All ſtraight to better ſafetie flocke apace,
None reſt to helpe the ruine while they maie:
The perill great and doubtfull the redreſſe,
Men are content to leaue right in diſtreſſe.

7

As ſtately *Thames* inricht with many a flood,
And goodly riuers that haue made their graues
And buried both their names and all their good
Within his greatnes to augment his waues;
Glides on with pompe of waters vnwithſtood
Vnto the *Ocean*, which his tribute craues
And laies vp all his wealth within that powre,
Which in it ſelfe all greatnes doth deuour.

8

So flocke the mightie with their following traine
Vnto the all-receiuing *Bullingbrooke*,
Who wonders at himselfe how he should gaine
So manie hearts as now his partie tooke;
And with what ease and with how slender paine,
His fortune giues him more then he could looke,
What he imagind neuer could be wrought
Is powrd vpon him, farre beyond his thought.

9

So often things which seeme at first in shew
Without the compasse of accomplishment,
Once ventred on to that successe do grow,
That euen the Authors do admire th' euent:
So manie meanes which they did neuer know
Doe second their designes, and doe present
Straunge vnexpected helpes, and chiefly then
When th' Actors are reputed worthy men.

10

And *Richard* who lookt fortune in the backe,
Sees headlong-lightnes running from the right,
Amazed stands to note how great a wracke
Of faith his riots caus'd, what mortall spight
The beare him, who did law and iustice lacke:
Sees how concealed hate breakes out in sight,
And feare-depressed enuy pent before
When fit occasion thus vnlockt the dore.

11

Like when some mastiue whelpe disposd to plaie
A whole confused heard of beastes doth chace,
Which with one vile consent run all awaie,
If any hardier then the rest in place
But turne the head that idle feare to stay,
Backe straight the daunted chaser turnes his face,
And all the rest with bold example led
As fast run on him as before they fled.

12

So with this bold opposer rushes on
This many-headed monster *Multitude*:
And he who late was feard is set vpon,
And by his owne *Actæon*-like pursude,
His owne that had all loue and awe forgone,
Whom breath and shadowes only did delude,
And newer hopes which promises perswade:
Though rare performed promises so made.

13

Which seeing this: thus to himselfe complaines:
O why do you fond false deceiued so
Run headlong to that change that nothing gaines
But gaine of sorrow, onlie change of wo?
Which is all one if he be like that raignes:
Why will you buy with bloud what you forgoe?
Tis nought but shewes that ignorance esteemes,
The thing possest is not the thing it seemes.

And

14

And when the ſinnes of *Bullingbrooke* ſhall be
As great as mine, and you vnanſwered
In theſe your hopes; then may you wiſh for me
Your lawfull Sou'raigne from whoſe faith you fled,
And grieued in your ſoules the error ſee
That ſhining promiſes had ſhadowed:
As th' humorous ſicke remouing finde no eaſe,
When changed Chambers change not the diſeaſe.

15

Then ſhall you finde this name of liberty
(The watchword of rebellion euer vſd
The idle eccho of vncertainty,
That euermore the ſimple hath abuſd)
But new-turnd ſeruitude and miſerie,
And euen the ſame and worſe before refuſd,
Th' aſpirer once attaind vnto the top
Cuts off thoſe meanes by which himſelfe got vp.

16

And with a harder hand and ſtreighter raine
Doth curbe that looſenes he did finde before,
Doubting th' occaſion like might ſerue againe,
His owne example makes him feare the more:
Then ô iniurious land what doſt thou gaine
To aggrauate thine owne afflictions ſtore?
Since thou muſt needs obay to gouernement,
And no rule euer yet could all content.

17

O if my youth hath offred vp to luſt
Licentious fruits of indiſcreet deſires
When idle heate of vainer yeares did thruſt
That fury on: yet now when it retires
To calmer ſtate: ô why ſhould you diſtruſt
To reape that good whereto mine age aſpires?
The youth of Princes haue no bounds for ſinne
Vnleſſe themſelues do make them bounds within.

18

Who ſees not that ſees ought (wo worth the while)
The eaſie way that greatneſſe hath to fall
Enuirond with deceit, hem'd in with guile,
Sooth'd vp in flattery, fawned on of all:
Within his owne liuing, as in exile,
Heares but with others eares or not at all:
Euen made a pray onely vnto a few,
Who locke vp grace that would to others ſhew.

19

And who as let in leaſe doe farme the crowne,
And ioy the vſe of *Maieſtie* and might,
Whilſt we hold but the ſhadow of our owne,
Pleaſd but with ſhewes, and dalied with delight:
They as huge vnproportion'd mountaines growne
Betweene our land and vs, ſhadowing our light,
Bereaue the reſt of ioy and vs of loue,
And keepe downe all to keepe themſelues aboue.

20

Which woūds with griefe poore vnrespected zeale
When grace holdes no proportion in the partes;
When distribution in the common weale
Of charge and honour due to good desarts
Is stopt, when others greedy hands must deale
The benefit that *Maiestie imparts*:
What good we ment comes gleaned home but light
Whilst we are robd of praise, they of their right.

21

O hence I see, and to my griefe I see,
Th' vnreconcileable disunion
Is growne betweene m' aggraued realme and mee,
And by their fault, whose faith I trusted on:
My easie nature tractable and free,
Soone drawne to what my councel would haue done
Is thus betraid by them and my neglect,
Easiest deceiud where least I did suspect.

22

Thus he complaind, when lo from *Lancaster*
(The new intituled *Duke*) with order sent
Ariu'd *Northumberland*, as to conferre
And make relation of the *Dukes* intent:
And offred there, if that he would referre
The controuersie vnto *Parlament*,
And punish those that had abusd the state
As causers of this vniuersall hate,

23

And alſo ſee that iuſtice might be had
On thoſe the Duke of Gloſters death procur'd,
And ſuch remoud from councell as were bad,
His coſin *Henrie* would he there aſſur'd
On humble knees before his grace be glad
To aske him pardon to be well recur'd,
And haue his right and grace reſtor'd againe,
The which was all he laboured t' obtaine.

24

And therefore he a Parley doth exhort,
Perſwades him leaue that vnbeſeeming place
And with a Princely hardines reſort
Vnto his people, that attend his grace:
They ment the publique good and not his hurt,
And would moſt ioifull be to ſee his face:
He laies his ſoule to pledge, and takes his oth
The oſt of Chriſt an oſtage for his troth.

25

This profer with ſuch proteſtations made
Vnto a king that ſo nere daunger ſtood,
Was a ſufficient motiue to perſwade
When no way els could ſhew a face of good:
Th' vnhonourable meanes of ſafety bade
Danger accept what *Maieſtie withſtood*:
When better choices are not to be had
We needs muſt take the ſeeming beſt of bad.

26

Yet ſtands h' in doubt a while what way to take,
And doth confer with that ſmall ſtaying troope
That fortune left; which neuer would forſake
Their poore diſtreſſed Lord, nor euer ſtoope
To any hopes the ſtronger part could make:
The Biſhop of Carlile. Good *Carlile, Ferby* and ſir *Stephen Scroope*
Montague Earle of Salisbury. With that moſt worthy *Montague* were al,
That were content with *Maieſtie* to fall.

27

O *Time*, commit not ſacrilegious theft
Vppon the holy faith of theſe good men:
Let not ſucceeding ages be bereft
Of ſuch examples worthy of our Pen:
Nor thou magnanim'ous *Leigh* ſhalt not be left
In darkenes for thy conſtant honour then,
That then to ſaue thy faith wouldſt looſe thy head,
That reuerent head that all men pittied.

28

Nor conſcience would that I ſhould iniury
Ienico d' Artois a Gaſcoyn. *O Jenico* thy memory ſo cleere,
For being not ours, though wiſh that *Gaſcony*
Claimd not for hers the faith we hold ſo deere;
So *England* ſhould haue this ſmall companie
Wholy her owne, and ſhee no partner heere;
But lets deuide this good betwixt vs both,
Take ſhee thy birth and we will haue thy troth.

29

Graue *Montague*, whom long experience taught
In either fortune; this aduiſd his king:
Deare Sou'raigne know, the matter that is ſought
Is onely now your Maieſtie to bring
From out of this poore ſafety you haue got
Into their hands, that elſe hold euery thing:
Nothing but onely you they want of all,
And wanting you, they nothing theirs can call.

30

Here haue you craggy rockes to take your part
That neuer will betray their faith to you;
Theſe truſtie mountaines here will neuer ſtart
But ſtand t' obraid their ſhame that are vntrue,
Here maie you fence your ſafetie with ſmall art
Againſt the pride of that confuſed Crew:
If men will not, theſe very cliffes will fight
And be ſufficient to defend your right.

31

Then keepe you here, and here ſhall you behold
Within ſhort ſpace the fliding faith of thoſe
That cannot long their reſolution hold,
Repent the courſe their idle raſhnes choſe:
For that ſame mercenarie faith they ſold
With leaſt occaſions diſcontented growes,
And inſolent thoſe voluntarie bands,
Preſuming how by them he chiefly ſtands.

32

And how can he those mightie troupes sustaine
Long time where now he is, or any where?
Besides what discipline can he retaine
Where as he dares not keepe them vnder feare,
For feare to haue them to reuolt againe?
So that in selfe when greatnes cannot beare
With her owne waight must needes confusdly fall
Without the helpe of other force at all.

33

And hither to approach h' will neuer dare
Where deserts, rockes, and hils no succours giue,
Where desolation and no comforts are,
Where few can do no good, manie not liue:
Besides we haue the *Ocean* to prepare
Some other place if this should not relieue;
So shall you tire his force, consume his strength
And weary all his followers out at length.

34

Doe but referre to time and to small time,
And infinite occasions you shall find,
To quaile the reble euen in the prime
Of all his hopes beyond all thought of mind,
For manie with the conscience of the crime
In colder bloud will curse what they design'd;
And bad successe obraiding their ill fact
Drawes them that others draw from such an act.

For

35

For if the least imagind ouerture
But of conceiud reuoltmen once espie,
Straight shrinke the weake, the great wil not indure,
Th'impatient run, the discontented flie,
The friend his friends example doth procure,
And altogither haste them presently
Some to their home, some hide, others that stay
To reconcile themselues, the rest betray.

36

What hope haue you that euer *Bullingbrooke*
Will liue a subiect that hath tride his fate?
Or what good reconcilement can you looke
Where he must alwaies feare, and you must hate?
And neuer thinke that he this quarrell tooke
To reobtaine thereby his priuate state;
Twas greater hopes that hereto did him call
And he will thrust for all, or elfe loose all.

37

Nor trust this suttle *Agent* nor his oth,
You know his faith, you tride it before hand,
His fault is death and now to loose his troth,
To saue his life he will not greatly stand:
Nor trust your kinsmans proffer, since you both
Shew bloud in Princes is no stedfast band:
What though he hath no title, he hath might
That makes a title where there is no right?

Thus

38

The Bishop of Carlile. Thus he: when that good Bishop thus replies
Out of a mind that quiet did affect,
My Lord, I must confesse as your case lies,
You haue great cause your subiects to suspect
And counterplot against their subtelties,
You all good care and honestie neglect
And feare the worst what insolence maie doe,
Or armed fury maie incense them to.

39

But yet my Lord, feare maie as well transport
Your care beyond the truth of what is ment,
As otherwise neglect maie fall too short
In not examining of their intent:
But let vs weigh the thing which they exhort,
Tis Peace, submission and a parlament,
Which how expedient tis for either part
Twere good we iudgd with an vnpartiall hart.

40

And first for you my Lord, in griefe we see
The miserable case wherein you stand
Void here of succour, helpe or maiestie,
On this poore promontory of your land,
And where how long a time your grace maybe,
Expecting what may fall into your hand
We know not: since th' euent of things do lie
Clos'd vp in darknes far from mortall eie.

And

41

And how vnfit it were you ſhould protract
Long time in this ſo dangerous diſgrace,
As though that you good ſpirit and courage lackt
To iſſue out of this opprobrious place:
When euen the face of kings do oft exact
Feare and remorſe in faulty ſubiects baſe,
And longer ſtay a great preſumption drawes
That you were guilty or did doubt your cauſe.

42

What ſubiects euer ſo inragd would dare
To violate a Prince, t' offend the bloud
Of that renowmed race, by which they are
Exalted to the glorie of this good?
What if ſome things by chance miſguided were,
Which they haue now rebelliouſly withſtood?
They neuer will proceed with that deſpight
To wracke the ſtate, and to confound the right.

43

Nor doe I thinke that *Bullingbrooke* can be
So blind ambitious to affect the crowne,
Hauing himſelfe no title, and doth ſee
Others, if you ſhould faile, muſt keepe him downe:
Beſides the Realme, though mad, will neuer gree
To haue a right ſucceſſion ouerthrowne,
To raiſe confuſion vpon them and theirs
By preiudicing true and lawfull heires.

44

And now it may be fearing the successe
Of his attempts, or with remorse of mind,
Or else distrusting secret practises,
He would be glad his quarrell were resignd,
So that there were some orderly redresse
In those disorders which the Realme did find:
And this I thinke he now sees were his best
Since farther actions farther but vnrest.

45

And for th' impossibility of peace
And reconcilement which my Lords obiects:
I thinke when doying iniury shall cease
(The cause pretended) then surcease th' effects:
Time and some other Actions may increase
As may diuert the thought of these respects;
Others law of forgetting iniuries
Maie serue our turne in like calamities.

Lex Amne. stia.

46

And for his oath my Lord I thinke in conscience,
True honour would not so be found vntrue,
Nor spot his bloud with such a fowle offence
Against his soule, against his God and you:
Our Lord forbid that euer with th' expence
Of heauen and heauenly ioies that shall insue,
Mortality should buy this litle breath
T' indure the horror of eternall death.

47

And therefore as I thinke you safely maie
Accept this proffer, that determine shall
All doubtfull courses by a quiet waie;
Needfull for you, fit for them, good for all:
And here my sou'raigne to make longer stay
T' attend for what you are vnsure will fall
May slippe th' occasion and incense their will,
For feare thats wiser then the truth doth ill.

48

Thus he perswades euen of a zealous mind,
Supposing men had spoken as they ment,
And vnto this the king likewise inclinde
As wholy vnto peace and quiet bent,
And yeelds himselfe to th' earle, goes, leaues behind
Safety, Scepter, honor, gouernment:
For gone, all's gone, he is no more his owne;
And they rid quite of feare, he of the crowne.

49

A place there is where proudly raisd there stands
A huge aspiring rocke neighbou'ring the skies
Whose surly brow imperiously commands
The sea his bounds that at his proud feet lies:
And spurnes the waues that in rebellious bands
Assault his Empire and against him rise:
Vnder whose craggy gouernment there was
A niggard narrow way for men to passe.

50

And here in hidden cliffes concealed lay
A troope of armed men to intercept
The vnsuspecting king, that had no way
To free his foote that into danger stept:
The dreadfull *Ocean* on th' one side lay,
The hard-incroching mountaine th' other kept,
Before him he beheld his hatefull foes;
Behind, him traiterous enemies inclose.

51

Enuiron'd thus the *Earle* begins to cheere
His all-amased Lord by him betraide:
Bids him take courage, ther's no cause of feare,
These troopes but there to guard him safe were laid:
To whom the king: what needs so many here?
This is against your oth my Lord he said:
But now he sees in what distresse hee stood,
To striue was vaine, t' intreat would do no good.

52

And therefore on with carefull hart he goes
Complaines (but to himself) sighes, grieues & freats,
At *Rutland* dines, though feedes but on his woes,
The griefe of mind hindred the minde of meats:
For sorrow, shame and feare, skorne of his foes,
The thought of what hee was and what now threats;
Then what he should, and now what he hath done,
Musters confused passions all in one.

53

To *Flint* from thence vnto a restles bed
That miserable night he comes conuayd,
Poorely prouided, poorely followed,
Vncourted, vnrespected, vnobayd:
Where if vncertaine sleepe but hoouered
Ouer the drooping cares that heauy weigh'd,
Millions of figures fantasie presents
Vnto that sorrow, wakened griefe-augments.

54

His new misfortune makes deluding sleepe
Say twas not so, false dreames the truth deny:
Wherewith he starts: feeles waking cares do creepe
Vpon his soule, and giues his dreame the lie:
Then sleepes againe, and then againe as deepe
Deceits of darknes mocke his misery:
So hard belieu'd was sorrow in her youth (truth.
That he thinks truth was dreames, & dreames were

55

The morning light presents vnto his view
Walking vpon a turret of the place,
The truth of what he sees is prou'd too true;
A hundred thousand men before his face
Came marching on the shore which thither drew:
And more to aggrauate his fowle disgrace,
Those he had wrongd or done to them dispight
As if they him obrayd, came first in sight.

56

There might he see that falſe forſworne vile crue,
Thoſe ſhameles agents of vnlawfull luſt,
His *Pandars*, *Paraſites*, people vntrue
To God and man, vnworthy any truſt:
Preſſing vnto that fortune that was nue
And with vnbluſhing faces formoſt thruſt
As thoſe that liue in ſun-ſhine of delights,
And flie the winter when affliction lights.

57

There he beheld how humbly diligent
New adulation was to be at hand,
How ready *Faſſood* ſtept, how nimbly went
Baſe-pickthanke *Flattery* and preuents command:
He ſaw the great obay, the graue conſent,
And all with this new-raiſd *Aſpirer* ſtand,
Which when he ſaw and in his ſorrow waid
Thus out of griefe vnto himſelfe he ſaid.

58

O faithleſſe *Coſen*, here behold I ſtand
Spectator of that act my ſelfe haue plaid,
That act of rule which now vpon thy hand
This wauering mutability hath laid:
But *Coſen*, know the faith of this falſe land
Stands ſworne to me, that faith they haue betraid
Is mine, tis mine the rule, thou doſt me wrong
T' vſurpe the gouernment I held ſo long.

59

And when thou haſt but tride what I haue found,
Thou maiſt repent t' haue bought comand ſo deare,
When thou ſhalt find on what vnquiet ground
Greatnes doth ſtand, that ſtands ſo high in feare:
Where infinite occaſions do confound
The peace of minde, the good thou look'ſt for here:
O fatall is th' aſcent vnto a crowne! (downe.
From whence men come not downe, but muſt fall

60

O you that cheriſh fat iniquity,
Inriching ſinne, with ſtore, and vice with gaine
By my diſgrace, ſee what you get thereby
To raiſe the bad, to make the good complaine:
Theſe vipers ſpoile the wombe wherein they lie,
And haue but impudence a grace to gaine,
But bodies and bold browes no mindes within
But minde of ill, that knowes but how to ſin.

61

And for the good which now do take thy part
Thou maiſte reioyce, for th' others I am glad
To thinke they may in time likewiſe ſubuart
The expectation which of thee men had:
When thou ſhalt find how difficult an art
It is to rule and pleaſe the good and bad:
And feele the grieuance of this fatall ſort,
Which ſtill are borne for court are made in court.

62

More griefe had said: when lo the Duke he saw
Entring the *Castle* come to parle there,
Which makes him presently from thence withdraw
Into a fitter place some other where:
His fortune now inforst an yeelding awe,
To meete him, who before in humble feare
Would haue beene glad t' haue staid, and to prepare
The grace of audience, with attendant care.

63

The *Duke* when come in presence of his king,
Whether the sight of maiestie did breed
Remorse of wrong which reuerence did bring;
Or whether but to formalize his deed,
He kneeles him downe euen at his entering,
Rose, kneeles againe (for craft will still exceed)
When as the king approcht, put off his hood
And welcomd him, though wisht him little good.

64

To whom the *Duke* thus said: my Lord I know
That both vnlookt for, and vnsent vnto
I haue presumed to come hither now;
But this your wrong and rigor draue me to,
And being come I purpose now to shew
You better how to rule, and what to doe:
You haue had time too much to worke our ill,
But now redresse is planted in our will.

As

65

As you ſhall pleaſe deare coſin ſaid the king,
You haue me in your powre, I am content
And I am pleaſd, if my diſgrace may bring
Good to my countrey which I euer ment:
But yet God grant your courſe held in this thing
Cauſe not ſucceeding ages to repent.
And ſo they left: the *Duke* had haſt to go,
It was no place to end the matter ſo.

66

Straight towards London in this heate of pride
The *Duke* ſets forward as they had decreed,
With whom the *Captiue King* conſtraind muſt ride,
Moſt meanely mounted on a ſimple ſteed:
Degraded of all grace and eaſe beſide,
Thereby neglect of all reſpect to breed;
For th' ouer-ſpreading pompe of prouder might
Muſt darken weaknes and debaſe his ſight.

67

Approaching nere the Citty he was met
With all the ſumptuous ſhewes ioy could deuiſe,
Where new-deſire to pleaſe did not forget
To paſſe the vſuall pompe of former guiſe;
Striuing applauſe as out of priſon let,
Runnes on beyond all boundes to nouelties:
And voice and hands and knees and all do now
A ſtraung deformed forme of welcome ſhow.

68

And manifold confusion running greetes (riere:
Shootes, cries, claps hands, thrusts, striues and presses
Houses impou'rish't were t' inrich the streetes,
And streetes left naked that vnhappy were
Plac'd from the sight where ioy with wonder meets,
Where all of all degrees striue to appeare:
Where diuers-speaking zeale, one murmure findes
In vndistinguisht voice to tell their mindes.

69

He that in glorie of his fortune sate,
Admiring what he thought could neuer be,
Did feele his bloud within salute his state,
And lift vp his reioicing soule to see
So manie hands and harts congratulate
Th' aduancement of his long-desir'd degree:
When prodigall of thankes in passing by
He resalutes them all with cheerefull eie.

70

Behind him all aloofe came pensiue on
The vnregarded king, that drooping went
Alone, and but for spight scarce lookt vpon,
Iudge if he did more enuy or lament:
O what a wondrous worke this daie is done,
Which th' image of both fortunes doth present,
In th' one to shew the best of glories face,
In th' other worse then worst of all disgrace.

Now

71

Now *Isabell* the young afflicted Queene,
Whose yeares had neuer shew'd her but delights,
Nor louely eies before had euer seene
Other then smiling ioies and ioyfull sights:
Borne great, matcht great, liu'd great and euer beene
Partaker of the worlds best benefits,
Had plac'd her selfe, hearing her Lord should passe
That way where shee vnseene in secret was.

72

Sicke of delay and longing to behold
Her long mist loue in fearefull ieoperdies,
To whom although it had in sort beene told
Of their proceeding, and of his surprize,
Yet thinking they would neuer be so bold
To lead their Lord in any shamefull wise,
But rather would conduct him as their king,
As seeking but the states reordering.

73

And forth shee looks: and notes the formost traine
And grieues to view some there she wisht not there,
Seeing the chiefe not come, staies, lookes againe,
And yet she sees not him that should appeare:
Then backe she stands, and then desires was faine
Againe to looke to see if he were nere,
At length a glittring troupe farre off shee spies,
Perceiues the thronge and heares the shoots & cries.

74

Lo yonder now at length he comes (ſaith ſhee)
Looke my good women where he is in ſight:
Do you not ſee him? yonder that is hee
Mounted on that white courſer all in white,
There where the thronging troupes of people bee,
I know him by his ſeate, he ſits s' vpright:
Lo now he bows: deare Lord with what ſweet grace:
How long haue I longd to behold that face?

75

O what delight my hart takes by mine eie?
I doubt me when he comes but ſomething neare
I ſhall ſet wide the window: what care I
Who doth ſee me, ſo him I may ſee cleare?
Thus doth falſe ioy delude her wrongfully
Sweet lady in the thing ſhe held ſo deare;
For nearer come, ſhee findes ſhee had miſtooke,
And him ſhee markt was *Henrie Bullingbrooke*.

76

Then *Enuie* takes the place in her ſweet eies
Where ſorrow had prepard her ſelfe a ſeat, (riſe,
And words of wrath from whēce complaints ſhould
Proceed from egar lookes, and browes that threat:
Traytor ſaith ſhee: i'ſt thou that in this wiſe
To braue thy Lord and king art made ſo great?
And haue mine eies done vnto me this wrong
To look on thee? for this ſtaid I ſo long?

77

O haue they grac'd a periur'd rebell so?
Well for their error I will weepe them out,
And hate the tongue defilde that praisde my so,
And loath the minde that gaue me not to doubt:
O haue I added shame vnto my woe?
Ile looke no more; *Ladies* looke you about,
And tell me if my Lord bee in this traine,
Leaft my betraying eies should erre againe.

78

And in this passion turnes her selfe away:
The rest looke all, and carefull note each wight;
Whilst she impatient of the leaft delay
Demaunds again, and what not yet in sight?
Where is my Lord? what gone some other way?
I muse at this, O God graunt all go right.
Then to the window goes againe at last
And sees the chiefest traine of all was past.

79

And sees not him her soule desir'd to see,
And yet hope spent makes her not leaue to looke,
At last her loue-quicke eies which ready be,
Fastens on one whom though shee neuer tooke
Could be her Lord: yet that sad cheere which he
Then shew'd, his habit and his wofull looke,
The grace he doth in base attire retaine,
Caus'd her she could not from his sight refraine.

80

What might he be she said that thus alone
Rides pensiue in this vniuersall ioy:
Some I perceiue as well as we doe mone,
All are not pleasd with euery thing this day,
It maie be he laments the wronge is done
Vnto my Lord and grieues as well he may,
Then he is some of ours, and we of right
Must pitty him, that pitties our sad plight.

81

But stay, ist not my Lord himselfe I see?
In truth if twere not for his base araie,
I verily should thinke that it were he;
And yet his baseness doth a grace bewray:
Yet God forbid, let me deceiued be;
O be it not my Lord although it may:
And let desire make vowes against desire,
And let my sight approue my sight a liar.

82

Let me not see him, but himselfe, a king;
For so he left me, so he did remoue:
This is not he, this feeles some other thing,
A passion of dislike or els of loue:
O yes tis he, that princely face doth bring
The euidence of maiestie to proue:
That face I haue conferr'd which now I see
With that within my hart, and they agree.

Thus

83

Thus as shee stoode allur'd and yet in doubt,
Wishing to see, what seene she grieud to see,
Hauing beliefe, yet faine would be without;
Knowing, yet striuing not to know twas he:
Her hart relenting, yet her hart so stout
As would not yeeld to thinke what was, could be:
Till quite condemnd by open proofe of sight
Shee must confesse or elfe denie the light.

84

For whether loue in him did sympathize
Or chance so wrought to manifest her doubt,
Euen iust before, where she thus secret prize,
He staies and with cleare face lookes all about:
When she: his ô too true, I know his eies
Alas it is my owne deare Lord, cries out:
And with that crie sinkes downe vpon the flore,
Abundant griefe lackt words to vtter more.

85

Sorrow keepes full possession in her soule,
Lockes him within, layes vp the key of breath,
Raignes all alone a *Lord* without controule
So long till greater horror threatneth:
And euen in danger growing, to lose the whole
H'is forst come forth or elfe to stay with death,
Opens a sigh and lets in sence again,
And sence and sighs giues words leaue to complaine.

Then

86

Then like a torrent had beene ſtopt before,
Teares, ſighes, and words, doubled togither flow,
Confuſdly ſtriuing whether ſhould do more
The true intelligence of griefe to ſhow:
Sighes hindred words, words periſht in their ſtore,
Both intermixt in one together grow:
One would do all, the other more then's part
Being both ſent equall agents from the hart.

87

At length when paſt the firſt of ſorrowes worſt,
When calm'd confuſion better forme affords
Her hart commands her words ſhould paſt out firſt,
And then her ſighes ſhould interpoint her words;
The whiles her eies out into teares ſhould burſt,
This order with her ſorrow ſhe accords,
Which orderles all forme of order brake,
So then began her words and thus ſhe ſpake.

88

O doſt thou thus returne againe to mee?
Are theſe the triumphs for thy victories?
Is this the glory thou doſt bring with thee
From that vnhappy Iriſh enterprize?
O haue I made ſo many vowes to ſee
Thy ſafe returne, and ſee thee in this wiſe?
Is this the lookt for comfort thou doſt bring,
To come a captiue that went'ſt out a king?

And

89

And yet deare Lord though thy vngratefull land
Hath left thee thus, yet I will take thy part,
I do remaine the same vnder thy hand,
Thou still dost rule the kingdome of my hart;
If all be lost, that gouernment doth stand
And that shall neuer from thy rule depart:
And so thou be, I care not how thou be;
Let greatnes goe, so it goe without thee.

90

And welcome come, how so vnfortunate,
I will applaud what others do dispise,
I loue thee for thy selfe not for thy state,
More then thy selfe is what without thee, lies:
Let that more go, if it be in thy fate,
And hauing but thy selfe it will suffize:
I married was not to thy crowne but thee,
And thou without a crowne all one to mee.

91

But what doe I here lurking idlie mone
And waile a part, and in a single part
Make seuerall griefe which should be both in one,
The touch being equall of each others hart?
Ah no sweete Lord thou must not mone alone,
For without me thou art not all thou art,
Nor my teares without thine are fullie teares,
For thus vnioyn'd, sorrow but halfe appeares.

92

Ioine then our plaints & make our griefe ful griefe,
Our ſtate being one, ô lets not part our care,
Sorrow hath only this poore bare reliefe,
To be bemon'd of ſuch as wofull are:
O ſhould I rob thy griefe and be the thiefe
To ſteale a priuate part, and ſeuerall ſhare,
Defrauding ſorrow of her perfect due?
No no my Lord I come to helpe thee rue.

93

Then forth ſhee goes a cloſe concealed way
As grieuing to be ſeene not as ſhee was;
Labors t' attaine his preſence all ſhee maie,
Which with moſt hard a doe was brought to paſſe:
For that night vnderſtanding where he laie
With earneſt treating ſhe procur'd her paſſe
To come to him. Rigor could not deny
Thoſe teares, ſo poore a ſuite or put her by.

94

Entring the chamber where he was alone
As one whoſe former fortune was his ſhame,
Loathing th' obraiding eie of anie one
That knew him once and knowes him not the ſame:
When hauing giuen expreſſe commaund that none
Should preſſe to him, yet hearing ſome that came
Turnes angerly about his grieued eies
When lo his ſweet afflicted Queene he ſpies.

Straight

95

Straight cleeres his brow & with a borrowed ſmile
What my dere Queene, ô welcome deare he ſaies?
And ſtriuing his owne paſſion to beguile
And hide the ſorrow which his eie betraies, (while,
Could ſpeake no more but wrings her hands the
And then (ſweet lady) and againe he ſtaies:
Th' exceſſe of ioy and ſorrow both affords
Affliction none, or but poore niggard words.

96

Shee that was come with a reſolued hart
And with a mouth full ſtoor'd, with words wel choſe,
Thinking this comfort will I firſt impart
Vnto my Lord, and thus my ſpeech diſpoſe:
Then thus ile ſay, thus looke, and with this art
Hide mine owne ſorrow to relieue his woes,
When being come all this prou'd nought but winde,
Teares, lookes, and ſighes doe only tell her minde.

97

Thus both ſtood ſilent and confuſed ſo,
Their eies relating how their harts did morne
Both bigge with ſorrow, and both great with woe
In labour with what was not to be borne:
This mighty burthen wherewithall they goe
Dies vndeliuered, periſhes vnborne;
Sorrow makes ſilence her beſt oratore
Where words may make it leſſe not ſhew it more.

98

But he whom longer time had learn'd the art
T'indure affliction as a vsuall touch:
Straines forth his wordes, and throwes dismay apart
To raise vp her, whose passions now were such
As quite oppresst her ouercharged hart,
Too small a vessell to containe so much, (frame
And cheeres and mones, and fained hopes doth
As if himselfe beliew'd, or hop'd the same.

99

And now the while these Princes sorrowed,
Forward ambition come so nere her ende,
Sleepes not nor slippes th' occasion offered
T'accomplish what it did before intende:
A parlament is foorthwith summoned
In *Richards* name, whereby they might pretend
A forme to grace disorder and a shew
Of holie right, the right to ouerthrow.

100

Ah could not *Maiestie* be ruined
But with the fearefull powre of her owne name?
And must abusd obedience thus be led
With powrefull titles to consent to shame?
Could not confusion be established
But forme and order must confirme the same?
Must they who his authority did hate,
Yet vse his stile to take away his state?

Or-

101

Order, ô how predominant art thou!
That if but only thou pretended art;
How soone deceiu'd mortality doth bow
To follow thine as still the better part?
Tis thought that deuerent forme will not allow
Iniquity: or sacred right peruart:
Within our soules since ô thou dwell'st so strong
How ill do they that vse thee to do wrong?

102

So ill did they that in this formall course
Sought to establish a deformed right:
Who might as well effected it by force, (might:
But that men hold it wrong what's wrought by
Offences vrg'd in publique are made worse,
The shew of iustice aggrauates despight:
The multitude that looke not to the cause
Rest satisfied, so it be done by lawes.

103

And now doth enuie articles obiect
Of rigor, malice, priuate fauourings,
Exaction, riot, falshood and neglect;
Crimes done, but not to b' answered by kings:
Which subiectes may complaine but not correct:
And all those faults which *Lancaster* now brings
Against a king, must be his owne when he
By vrging others sinnes a king shall be.

104

For all that was most odious was deuisd
And publisht in these articles abrode,
All th' errors of his youth were here compris'd
Calamitie with obloquie to lode:
And more to make him publikely dispis'd
Libels, inuectiues, rayling rimes were sow'd
Among the vulgar, to prepare his fall
With more applause and good consent of all.

105

Looke how the day-hater *Minervas* bird
Whil'st priuiledg'd with darknes and the night,
Doth liue secure t' himselfe of others feard,
But if by chance discouered in the light
O how each little foule with enuy stirr'd
Cals him to iustice, vrges him with spight;
Summons the feathered flockes of all the wood
To come to scorne the tyrant of their blood.

106

So fares this king layd open to disgrace
Whilst euery mouth full of reproch inuaies,
And euery base detractor in this case
Vppon th' aduantage of misfortune plaies:
Downe-falling greatnes vrged on a pace
Was followed hard by all disgracefull waies,
Now in the point t' accelerate an end
Whilst misery had no meanes to defend.

107

Vpon theſe articles in parliament
So haynous made, inforſt, and vrgd ſo hard,
He was adiudgd vnfit for gouernment
And of all regall powre and rule debarr'd:
For who durſt contradict the *Dukes* intent,
Or if they durſt ſhould patiently be heard?
Deſire of change, old wrongs, new hopes, freſh feare
Being far the maior part, the cauſe muſt beare.

108

Yet muſt we thinke that ſome which ſaw the courſe
The better few, whom paſſion made not blind
Stood carefull lookers on with ſad commorſe,
Amazd to ſee what headlong rage deſſignd:
And in a more conſiderate diſcourſe
Of tragicall euents there of deuind,
And did or might their grieued harts to eaſe
Vtter their ſorrowes in like termes as theſe.

109

What diſſolute proceedings haue we here?
What ſtrange preſumptuous diſobedience?
What vnheard fury void of awe or feare,
With monſtrous vnexampled inſolence?
Durſt ſubiects euer here or any where
Thus impiouſly preſume ſo fowle offence?
To violate the power commanding all
And into iudgement maieſtie to call.

110

O fame conceale and doe not carry word
To after-comming ages of our shame,
Blot out of bookes and rase out of Record
All monuments memorials of the same:
Forget to tell how we did lift our sword,
And enuious idle accusations frame
Against our lawfull sou'raigne, when we ought
His end and our release haue staid not sought.

111

Since better yeares might worke a better cure,
And time might well haue cur'd what was amisse,
Since all these faults fatall to greatnes are,
And worse desertes haue not beene punisht thus,
But ô in this the heauens we feare prepare
Confusion for our sinnes as well as his,
And his calamity beginneth our:
For he his owne, and we abusd his powre.

112

Thus grieued they: when to the king were sent
Certaine that might perswade and vrge him on
To leaue his crowne, and make with free consent
A voluntarie resignation,
Seeing he could no other way preuent
The daunger of his owne confusion,
For not to yeeld to what feare would constraine,
Would barre the hope of life that did remaine.

113

And yet this scarce could worke him to consent
To yeeld vp that so soone men hold so deare:
Why let him take (said he) the gouernment,
And let me yet the name, the title beare:
Leaue me that shew and I will be content,
And let them rule and gouerne without feare:
O can they not my shadowe now indure
When they of all the rest do stand secure?

114

Let me hold that, I aske no other good:
Nay that I will hold, *Henrie* do thy worst,
For ere I yeeld my crowne ile loose my bloud,
That bloud that shall make thee and thine accurst:
Thus resolute a while he firmely stood,
Till loue of life and feare of being forst
Vanquisht th'innated valour of his minde,
And hope and friends, so wrought that he resignd.

115

Then to the towre (where he remained) went
The *Duke* with all the Peeres attended on:
To take his offer with his free consent,
And testifie his resignation:
And there to inform the parliament
That all things might be so formally be done:
And men might rest more satisfide thereby
As not done of constraint but willingly.

116

And forth h'is brought vnto th' accomplishmēt
Deckt with the crowne in princely robes that day,
Like as the dead in other landes are sent
Vnto their graues in all their best aray:
And euen like good did him this ornament,
For what he brought he must not beare away,
But buries there his glory and his name
Intombd for euermore in others blame.

117

And there vnto th' assembly of these states
His sorrow for their long indured wrong
Through his abusd authority relates,
Excuses with confessions mixt among:
And glad he saies to finish all debates
He was to leaue the rule they sought for long,
Protesting if it might be for their good
He would as gladly sacrifice his blood.

118

There he his subiects all in generall
Assoyles and quites of oth and fealty,
Renounces interest, title, right and all
That appertaind to kingly dignity;
Subscribes thereto and doth to witnes call
Both heauen and earth, and God and saints on hie,
And all this did he but i' haue leaue to liue
The which was all he crau'd that they would giue.

119

Tis ſaid with his owne hands he gaue the crowne
To *Lancaſter*, and wiſht to God he might
Haue better ioy therof then he had knowne,
And that his powre might make it his by right:
And furthermore he crau'd of all his owne
But life to liue apart a priuate wight;
The vanity of greatnes he had tride
And how vnſurely ſtandes the foote of pride.

120

This brought to paſſe the lords returne with ſpeed
T' acquaint the Parlament with what is done,
Where they at large publiſht the kings owne deed
And manner of his reſignation:
When *Canterbury* vrgd them to proceed
Forthwith vnto a new election, *Arundell Biſhop of Canterbury.*
And *Henry* make his claime both by diſcent
And reſignation to the gouernement.

121

Who there with full and generall applauſe
Is ſtraight proclaimd as king and after crownd,
The other cleane reiected by the lawes,
As one the Realme had moſt vnworthy found.
And yet ô *Lancaſter* I would thy cauſe
Had had as lawfull and as ſure a ground
As had thy vertues, and thy glorious worth
For *Empire* borne, for *Gouernment* brought forth:

121

Then had not that succeeding age
Her fieldes engrain'd with bloud, her riuers dide
With purple streaming wounds of her owne rage,
Nor seene her Princes slaine, her Peeres distroide:
Then hadst not thou deare country come to wage
Warre with thy selfe, nor those afflictions tride
Of all-consuming discord here so long,
Too mighty now against thy selfe too strong.

122

So had the bloud of thirteene battels fought
About this quarrell, fatall to our land,
Haue beene reseru'd with glory to haue brought
Nations and kingdomes vnder our commaund:
So should all that thy sonne and thou had got,
With glorious praise haue still beene in our hand,
And that great worthy last of all thy name
Had ioind the westerne *Empire* to the same.

123

So should his great imperiall daughter now
Th'admired glory of the earth, hereby
Haue had all this neere bordring world to bow
To her immortalized maiestie:
Then proud *Iberus* Lord not seeking how
T'attaine a false-conceiued Monarchie,
Had kept his barraine boundes and not haue stood
In vaine attempts t'inrich the seas with bloud.

125

Nor interpoſd his greedy medling hands
In other mens affaires t' aduance his owne,
Nor tyranniſd ouer ſo manie landes
From late obſcurity ſo mighty growne:
But we with our vndaunted conquering bandes
Had lent our Enſignes vnto landes vnknowne,
And now with more audacious force began
To march againſt th' earths-terror *Ottoman*.

126

Where thou (*O worthy Eſſex*) whoſe deare blood
Reſeru'd from theſe ſad times to honour ours,
Shouldſt haue conducted Armies and now ſtood
Againſt the ſtrength of all the *Eaſterne Powres*:
There ſhould thy valiant hand perform'd that good
Againſt the barbariſme that all deuoures,
That all the ſtates of the redeemed *Earth*
Might thee admire, and glorifie thy birth.

127

Thence might thy valor haue brought in deſpight
Eternall *Tropheis* to *Elizas* name,
And laid downe at her ſacred feete the right
Of all thy deedes and glory of the ſame.
All that which by her powre, and by thy might
Thou hadſt attaind to her immortall fame
Had made thee wondred here, admir'd a farre
The *Mercury* of peace, the *Mars* of warre.

128

And thou my Lord the glorie of my muſe
Pure-ſpirited *Mountioy*, th' ornament of men,
Hadſt had a large and mighty field to vſe
Thy holie giftes and learned counſels then:
Whole landes and Prouinces ſhould not excuſe
Thy truſty faith, nor yet ſufficient beene
For thoſe great vertues to haue ordered
And in a calme obedience gouerned.

129

Nor had I then at ſolitary brooke
Sate framing bloudy accents of theſe times,
Nor told of woundes that grieued eies might looke
Vpon the horror of their fathers crimes,
But rather a more glorious ſubiect tooke
To regiſter in euerlaſting rimes
The ſacred glories of ELIZABETH,
T' haue kept the wonder of her worth from death.

136

And likewiſe builded for your great deſignes
O you two worthies bewties of our ſtate,
Immortall tombes of vnconſuming lines
To keepe your holie deedes inuiolate:
You in whoſe actions yet the image ſhines
Of ancient honor neere worne out of date,
You that haue vertue into faſhion brought
In theſe neglected times reſpected nought.

But

131

But whither am I carried with the thought
Of what might haue beene, had not this beene ſo?
O ſacred *Fury* how was I thus brought
To ſpeake of glory that muſt tell of wo?
Theſe acted miſchiefes cannot be vnwrought
Though men be pleaſd to wiſh it were not ſo.
And therefore leaue ſad *Muſe* th' imagin'd good,
For we muſt now returne againe to bloud.

131

But whither am I carried with the thought
Of what might haue beene, had not this beene so?
O sacred *Fury* how was I thus brought
To speake of glory that must tell of wo?
These acted mischiefes cannot be vnwrought
Though men be pleasd to wish it were not so.
And therefore leaue sad *Muse* th' imagin'd good,
For we must now returne againe to blond.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE THIRD BOOKE.

Henry the fourth the Crowne eſtabliſhed,
The Lords that did to Gloſters *death conſent,*
Degraded doe rebell, are vanquiſhed:
King Richard *vnto* Pomfret *Caſtle ſent*
Is murthered there. The Percies *making head*
Againſt the king, receiue the puniſhment:
And in the end a tedious troublous raigne
A grieuous death concludes with care, and paine.

1

Now riſen is that head, by which did ſpring (rights;
The birth of two ſtrong heads, two crownes, two
That monſtrous ſhape that afterward did bring
Deform'd confuſion to diſtracted wights:
Now is attain'd that dearely purchas'd thing
That fild the world with lamentable ſights:
And now attain'd, all care is how to frame
Meanes to eſtabliſh, and to hold the ſame.

2

Striuing at firſt to build a ſtrong conceit
Of his weake cauſe, in apt-abuſed mindes,
He deckes his deed with colours of deceit
And ornaments of right, which now he findes:
Succeſſion, conqueſt, and election ſtraight
Suggeſted are, and prou'd in all three kindes:
More then inough he findes, that findes his might
Hath force to make all that he will haue, right.

3

All theſe he hath when one good would ſuffize
The worlds applauſe, and liking to procure,
But who his owne cauſe makes doth ſtill deuiſe
To make too much to haue it more then ſure:
Feare caſts too deepe, and euer is too wiſe,
The doubtfull can no vſuall plots indure:
Theſe ſelfe-accuſing titles all he had
Seeking to make one good of manie bad.

4

Like fooliſh he that feares, and faine would ſtop
An inundation working on apace,
Runs to the breach, heapes mighty matter vp,
Throwes indigeſted burthens on the place,
Loades with huge waights, the outſide and the top,
But leaues the inner parts in feeble caſe:
Thinking for that the outward forme ſeemes ſtrong
Tis ſure inough, and may continue long.

But

58

But when the vnderworking waues come on
Searching the secrets of vnfenced waies,
The full maine Ocean following hard vpon
Beares downe that idle frame, skorning such staies;
Prostrates that fruitlesse paines as if not done,
And proudly on his silly labors plaies,
Whilst he perceiues his error, and doth finde
His ill proceeding contrary to kinde.

59

So fares it with our indirect disseignes
And wrong-contriued labors at the last,
Whilst working time or Iustice vndermines
The feeble ground-worke craft thought laid so fast;
Then when out-breaking vengeance vncombines
The ill-ioynd plots so fairely ouercast,
Turnes vp those strong pretended heapes of showes
And all these weake illusions ouerthrowes.

60

But well he thought his powre made all seem plain,
And now t' his coronation he proceedes,
Which in most sumptuous sort (to intertaine
The gazing vulgar whom this error feedes)
Is furnisht with a stately-glorious traine,
Wherein the former kings he far exceedes:
And all t' amuse the world, and turne the thought
Of what, and how 'twas done, to what is wrought.

8

And that he might on many props repose
He strengths his owne, and who his part did take:
New officers, new counsellours he chose,
His eldest sonne the Prince of *Wales* doth make,
His second *Lord* high *Steward*, and to those
Had hazarded their fortunes for his sake
He giues them charge, as merites their desart;
Seeking all meanes t'oppresse the aduerse part.

9

All Counsellers vnto the former king,
All th' officers, and iudges of the state,
He to disgrace, or els to death did bring
Lead by his owne, or by the peoples hate:
Who euermore by nature mallicing
Their might whom not their vertues, but their fate
Exalted hath, who when kings do what's naught
Because tis in their powre, tis thought their faut.

10

And plac'd for these such as were popular
Belou'd of him, and in the peoples grace,
Learned graue *Shirley* he makes *Chancellor*,
One of great spirit, worthy his worthy race:
And *Clifford* he ordaines *Lord Treasuror*,
A man whose vertues well deseru'd that place:
Others to other roomes (whom people hold
So much more lou'd how much they loath'd the old)

Then

17

Then againſt thoſe he ſtrictly doth proceed
Who chiefe of *Gloſters* death were guilty thought,
(Not ſo much for the hatred of that deed)
But vnder this pretext the meanes he ſought,
To ruine ſuch whoſe might did much exceed
His powre to wrong, nor els could wel be wrought;
Law, Iuſtice, bloud, the zeale vnto the dead
Were on his ſide, and his drift ſhadowed.

12

Here manie of the greateſt of the land
Accuſd were of the act, ſtrong proofes brought out
Which ſtrongly were refell'd, the Lords all ſtand
To cleere their cauſe moſt reſolutely ſtoute:
The king perceiuing what he tooke in hand
Was not with ſafety to be brought about
Deſiſtes to vrge their death in anie wiſe,
Reſpecting number, ſtrength, friends, and allies.

The Dukes of Surrey, Exceſter, & Aumarle. The Earles of Salisbury and Gloſter, the Biſhop of Carlile, Sir Thomas Blount and other were the parties accuſed.

13

Nor was it time now in his tender raigne
And infant-young-beginning gouernment,
To ſtriue with bloud when lenity muſt gaine
The mighty wight, and pleaſe the diſcontent:
New kings do feare, when old courts farther ſtraine,
Eſtabliſht ſtates to all things will conſent:
He muſt diſpence with his will, and their crime,
And ſeeke t' oppreſſe and weare them out with time.

14

Yet not to seeme but to haue something done
In what he could not as he would effect,
To satisfie the people that begun
Reuenge of wrong, and iustice to expect:
He causd be put to execution
One that to doe this murther was elect,
A base meane man whom few or none would misse,
Who first did serue their turne, and now serues his.

15

And to abase the too high state of those
That were accusd, and lessen their degrees,
Autmarle, Surry, Exceter, must lose
The names of Dukes, their titles, dignities,
And what soeuer honour with it goes:
The Earles their titles and their Signories,
And all they gote in th' end of *Richards* raigne
Since *Glosters* death, they must restore againe.

16

By this as if by *Ostracisme* t' abate
That great presumptiue wealth, wheron they stand;
For first thereby impou'rishing their state
He kils the meanes they might haue to withstand:
Then equals them with other whom they hate,
Who (by their spoiles) are raisd to hie command,
That weake, and enuied if they should conspire
They wracke themselues, and he hath his desire.

And

17

And by this grace which yet must be a grace
As both they, and the world, are made believe,
He doth himselfe secure and them deface,
Thinking not rigor that which life doth giue:
But what an error was it in this case
To wrong so many, and to let them liue?
But errors are no errors but by fate,
For oft th' euent make foule faults fortunate.

18

The parlament which now is held, decreed
What euer pleasd the king but to propound;
Confirm'd the crowne to him and to his seed,
And by their oth their due obedience bound:
And ô b' it sinne t' examine now this deed
How iust tis done and on how sure a ground?
Whether that Court maie change due course or no
Or ought the realme against the realme can do?

19

Here was agreed to make all more secure
That *Richard* should remaine for euermore
Close-prisoner, least the realme might chace indure
Some new reuolt, or any fresh vprore:
And that if any should such broile procure
By him or for him, he should die therefore.
So that a talke of tumult and a breath
Would serue him as his passing-bell to death.

Yet

20

Yet reuerent *Carlile* thou didst there oppose
Thy holy voice to saue thy Princes bloud,
And freely check'st this iudgement and his foes,
When all were bad, yet thou dar'st to be good:
Be it inrold that time may neuer lose
The memory how firme thy vertues stood,
When powre, disgrace, nor death could ought diuart
Thy glorious tongue, thus to reueale thy hart.

21

Graue, reuerent Lords, since that this sacred place
Our *Auentine*, *Retire*, our holy hill;
This place, soule of our state, the Realmes best grace
Doth priuiledge me speake what reason will:
O let me speake my conscience in this case
Least sin of silence shew my hart was ill,
And let these walles witnes if you will not,
I do discharge my soule of this foule blot.

22

Neuer shall this poore breath of mine consent
That he that two and twenty yeeres hath raigned
As lawfull Lord, and king by iust discent,
Should here be iudged vnheard, and vnaraigned
By subiects two: Iudges incompetent
To iudge their king vnlawfully detaind,
And vn-brought forth to plead his guiltles cause,
Barring th'annointed libertie of lawes.

23

Haue you not done inough? bluſh, bluſh to thinke,
Lay on your harts thoſe hands; thoſe hands too raſh,
Know that this ſtaine that's made doth farther ſinke
Into your ſoules then all your blouds can waſh,
Leaue with the miſchiefe done and doe not linke
Sin vnto ſin, for heauen, and earth will daſh
This ill accompliſht worke ere it be long,
For weake he builds that fences wrong with wrong.

24

Stopt there was his too vehemēt ſpeech with ſpeed,
And he ſent cloſe to warde from where he ſtood:
His zeale vntimely deem'd too much t' exceed
The meaſure of his wit and did no good:
They reſolute for all this doe proceed
Vnto that iudgement could not be withſtood:
The king had all he crau'd or could compell,
And all was done we will not ſay how well.

25

Now *Muſe* relate a wofull accident
And tell the bloudſhed of theſe mighty Peeres
Who lately reconcild, reſt diſcontent,
Grieu'd with diſgrace, remaining in their feares
How euer ſeeming outwardly content,
Yet th' inward touch that wounded honor beares
Reſts cloſely rankling and can find no eaſe
Till death of one ſide cure this great diſeaſe.

26

Meanes how to feele, and learne each others hart
By th' *Abbot* now of *Weſtminſter* is found,
Who ſecretly diſliking *Henries* part
Inuites theſe Lords, and thoſe he ment to ſound,
Feaſts them with coſt, and drawes them on with art,
And darke, and doubtful queſtions doth propound:
Then plainer ſpeakes, and yet vncertaine ſpeakes,
Then wiſhes wel, then off abruptly breakes.

27

My Lords ſaith he, I feare we ſhall not finde
This long-deſired king ſuch as was thought:
But yet he may doe well: God turne his minde:
Tis yet new daies: but ill bodes new and nought:
Some yet ſpeed well: though all men of my kind
Haue cauſe to doubt; his ſpeech is not forgot,
That Princes had too little, we too much;
God giue him grace, but tis ill truſting ſuch.

28

This open-cloſe, apparent-darke diſcourſe
Drew on much ſpeech, and euery man replies,
And euery man ads heat, and wordes inforce
And vrge out words, for when one man eſpies
Anothers minde like his, then ill breedes worſe,
And out breakes all in th' end what cloſeſt lies,
For when men well haue fed th' bloud being warme
Then are they moſt improuident of harme.

29

Bewray they did their inward boyling ſpight
Each ſtirring other to reuenge their cauſe,
One ſaies he neuer ſhould indure the ſight
Of that forſworne, that wrongs both land and lawes:
Another vowes the ſame of his minde right:
A third t' a point more nere the matter drawes,
Sweares if they would, he would attempt the thing
To chaſte th' vſurper, and replace their king.

30

Thus one by one kindling each others fire
Till all inflam'd they all in one agree,
All reſolute to proſecute their ire,
Seeking their owne, and Countries cauſe to free:
And haue his firſt that their bloud did conſpire,
For no way elſe they ſaid but this could be
Their wrong-detained honor to redeeme, (teeme.
Which true-bred bloud ſhoulde more then life eſ-

31

And let not this our new-made faithles Lord
Saith *Surry* thinke, that we are left ſo bare:
Though bare inough: but we will find a ſword
To kill him with, when hee ſhall not beware:
For he that is with life and will but ſtoor'd,
Hath for reuenge inough, and needs not care,
For time will fit and furniſh all the reſt,
Let him but euen attend, and doe his beſt.

32

Then of the manner how t' effect the thing
Consulted was, and in the end agreed
That at a maske and common reuelling (deed;
Which should b' ordaind, they should performe the
For that would be least doubted of the king
And fittest for their safety to proceed,
The night, their number, and the suddaine act
Would dash all order, and protect their fact.

33

Besides they might vnder the faire pretence
Of Tilts and Turnements which they intend,
Prouide them horse, and armour for defence,
And all things else conuenient for their end:
Besides they might hold sure intelligence
Among themselues without suspect t' offend:
The king would think they sought but grace in court
Withall their great preparing in this sort.

34

A solemne oth religiously they make
By intermutuall vowes protesting there
This neuer to reueale; nor to forsake
So good a cause, for daunger hope, or feare:
The Sacrament the pledge of faith they take,
And euery man vpon his sword doth sweere
By knighthood, honor, or what els should binde,
To assecure the more each others minde.

And

35

And when al this was done, and thought wel done
And euery one assures him good successe,
And easie seemes the thing to euery one
That nought could crosse their plot or thē suppresse:
Yet one among the rest, whose mind not wonne
With th' ouerweening thought of hot excesse,
Nor headlong carried with the streame of will,
Nor by his owne election lead to ill:

36

Sober, milde *Blunt*, whose learning, valor, wit *Sir Thomas Blunt.*
Had taught true iudgement in the course of things,
Knew daungers as they were, and th' humerous fit
Of ware-lesse discontent, what end it brings:
Counsels, their heat with calme graue words, & fit
Words wel forethought that from experiēce springs,
And warnes a warier cariage in the thing
Least blind presumption worke their ruining.

37

My Lords (saith he) I know your wisedomes such
As that of my aduise you haue no need,
I know you know how much the thing doth touch
The maine of all your states, your bloud, your seed:
Yet since the same concernes my life as much
As his whose hand is chiefest in this deed,
And that my foote must go as farre as his,
I thinke my tongue may speake what needfull is.

38

The thing we enterprize I know doth beare
Great possibility of good effect,
For that so many men of might there are
That venter here this action to direct:
Which meaner wights of trust, and credit bare
Not so respected could not looke t' effect;
For none without great hopes will follow such
Whose powre, and honor doth not promise much.

39

Besides this new, and doubtfull gouernment,
The wauering faith of people vaine, and light,
The secret hopes of many discontent,
The naturall affection to the right,
Our lawfull sou'raignes life, in prison pent,
Whom men begin to pitty now, not spight,
Our wel-laid plot, and all I must confesse
With our iust cause doth promise good successe.

40

But this is yet the outward faireſt side
Of our disseigne: within rests more of feare,
More dread of sad euent yet vndiscride
Then ô most worthy Lords I would there were:
But yet I speake not this as to deuide
Your thoughts from th'act, or to dismay your cheere,
Onely to adde vnto your forward will
A moderate feare to cast the worst of ill.

Dan-

41

Danger before, and in, and after th' act
You needs muſt grant, is great, and to be waigh'd
Before: leaſt while we doe the deed protract
It be by any of our ſelues bewraid:
For many being priuy to the fact
How hard it is to keepe it vnbetraid?
When the betrayer ſhall haue grace and life
And rid himſelfe of danger and of ſtrife.

42

For though ſome few continue reſolute,
Yet many ſhrinke, which at the firſt would dare
And be the formoſt men to execute,
If th' act, and motion at one inſtant were:
But intermiſſion ſuffers men diſpute
What dangers are, and caſt with farther care
Cold doubt cauils with honor, ſkorneth fame,
And in the end feare waighes down faith with ſhame.

43

Then in the act, what perils ſhall we finde
If either place, or time, or other courſe
Cauſe vs to alter th' order now aſſign'd?
Or that, then we expect things happen worſe?
If either error, or a fainting minde,
An indiſcreet amazement or remorſe
In any at that inſtant ſhould be found,
How much it might the act, and all confound?

After

44

After the deed the daungers are no leſſe,
Leaſt that our forwardnes not ſeconded
By our owne followers, and accomplices
Being kept backe or ſlow or hindered:
The haſtie multitude ruſh on t'oppreſſe
Confuſed weaknes there vnſuccored,
Or raiſe another head of that ſame race
T'auenge his death, and proſecute the caſe.

45

All this my Lords muſt be conſidered
The beſt and worſt of that which maie ſucceed,
That valour mixt with feare, boldnes with dread,
May march more circumſpect with better heed:
And to preuent theſe miſchiefes mentioned
Is by our faith, our ſecreſie and ſpeed,
For euen already is the worke begun
And we reſt all vndone, till all be done.

46

And ô I could haue wiſht another courſe
In open field t'haue hazarded my bloud,
But ſome are heere whoſe loue is of that force
To draw my life, whom zeale hath not withſtood:
But like you not of your diſſeigne the worſe
If the ſucceſſe be good your courſe is good:
And ending well our honor then begins,
No hand of ſtrife is pure, but that which wins.

This

47

This said, a sad still silence held their minds
Vpon the fearefull proiect of their woe,
But that not long ere forward fury finds
Incouraging perswasions on to go:
We must said they, we will, our honour bindes,
Our safety bids, our faith must haue it so,
We know the worst can come, tis thought vpon,
We cannot shift, being in, we must goe on.

48

And on indeed they went, but ô not farre,
A fatall stop trauersd their headlong course,
Their drift comes knowne, and they discouered are,
For some of many will be false of force:
Aumarle became the man that all did marre
Whether through indiscretion, chance or worse,
He makes his peace with offring others bloud
And shewes the king how all the matter stood.

49

Then lo dismaid confusion all possest
Th' afflicted troupe hearing their plot discride,
Then runnes amazd distresse with sad vnrest
To this, to that, to flie, to stand, to hide:
Distracted terror knew not what was best
On what determination to abide,
At last despaire would yet stand to the sword,
To trie what friends would doe or fate afford.

50

Then this then that mans ayd they craue, implore,
Poſt here for helpe, ſeeke there their followers;
Coniure the frendes they had, labor for more,
Sollicite all reputed fauorers,
Who *Richards* cauſe ſeem'd to affect before,
And in his name write, pray, ſend meſſengers;
To try what faith was left, if by this art
Anie would ſtep to take afflictions part:

51

And ſome were found, & ſome againe draw backe
Vncertaine power could not it ſelfe retaine,
Intreat they may, autority they lacke,
And here, and there they march, but all in vaine:
With deſp'rat courſe, like thoſe that ſee their wracke
Euen on the Rockes of death, and yet they ſtraine
That death maie not them idly find t'attend
Their certaine laſt, but worke to meet their end.

52

And long they ſtand not ere the chiefe ſurprizd
Conclude with their deare bloud their tragedie:
And all the reſt diſperſt, run ſome diſguiſd
To vnknowne coſtes, ſome to the ſhores do flie,
Some to the woodes, or whether feare adviſd,
But running from all to deſtruction hye,
The breach once made vpon a battered ſtate
Downe goes diſtreſſe, no ſhelter ſhroudes their fate.

53

O now what horror in their soules doth grow?
What sorrowes with their frendes, and nere allyes?
What mourning in their ruin'd houses now?
How many childrens plaints and mothers cryes?
How many wofull widowes left to bow
To sad disgrace? what perisht families? (frame
What heires of hie rich hopes their thoughts must
To bace-downe-looking pouerty and shame!

54

This slaughter, and calamitie forgoes
Thy eminent destruction wofull king,
This is the bloudie comet of thy woes
That doth fortell thy present ruyning:
Here was thy end decreed when these men rose
And euen with their, this act thy death did bring
Or hastened, at the least vpon this ground;
Yet if not this, another had beene found.

55

Kinges (Lordes of times and of occasions)
May take th'aduauntage, when, and how they lift,
For now the Realme with these rebellions
Vext, and turmoyld, was thought would not resist
Nor feele the wound, when like confusions
Should by this meanes be fayd, as all men wist,
The cause being once cut off, that did molest,
The land should haue her peace, and he his rest.

56

He knew this time, and yet he would not seeme
Too quicke to wrath, as if affecting bloud;
But yet complaines so far, that men might deeme
He would twere done, and that he thought it good;
And wisht that some would so his life esteeme
As rid him of these feares wherein he stood:
This Knight was Sir Pierce of Exton.
And therewith cies a knight, that then was by,
Who soone could learne his lesson by his eie.

57

The man he knew was one that willingly
For one good looke would hazard soule and all,
An instrument for any villanie,
That needed no commission more at all:
A great ease to the king that should hereby
Not need in this a counse of iustice call,
Nor seeme to wil the act, for though what's wrought
Were his own deed, he grieues should so be thought.

58

So foule a thing ô thou iniustice art
That torment both the doer and distrest,
For when a man hath done a wicked part,
O how he striues t' excuse to make the best,
To shift the fault, t' vnburthen his charg'd hart
And glad to finde the least surmise of rest:
And if he could make his seeme others sin,
O what repose, what ease he findes therein?

This

59

This knight, but ô why should I call him knight
To giue impiety this reuerent stile,
Title of honour, worth, and vertues right
Should not be giuen to a wretch so vile?
O pardon me if I doe not aright,
It is because I will not here defile
My vnstaind verse with his opprobrious name,
And grace him so to place him in the same.

60

This caitife goes and with him takes eight more
As desperat as himselfe; impiously bold
Such villaines as he knew would not abhorre
To execute what wicked act he would,
And hastes him downe to *Pomfret* where before
The restles king conuaid, was laide in hold: (bring
There would he do the deed he thought should
To him great grace and fauour with his king.

61

Whether the soule receiue intelligence
By her nere *Genius* of the bodies end,
And so impartes a sadnesse to the sense
Forgoing ruine whereto it doth tend:
Or whether nature else hath conference
With profound sleepe, and so doth warning send
By prophetizing dreames what hurt is neere,
And giues the heauie carefull ham to feare:

62

How euer so it is, the now sad king
Tost here and there his quiet to confound,
Feeles a straunge waight of sorrowes gathering
Vpon his trembling hart, and sees no ground:
Feeles sodayne terror bring cold shiuering.
Lists not to eat, still muses, sleepes vnsound,
His sences droope, his steedy eye vnquicke
And much he ayles, and yet hee is not sicke.

63

The morning of that day, which was his last,
After a weary rest rysing to paine
Out at a little grate his eyes he cast
Vppon those bordering hils, and open plaine,
And viewes the towne, and sees how people past,
Where others libertie makes him complaine
The more his owne, and grieues his soule the more
Conferring captiue-Crownes with freedome pore.

64

O happie man, saith hee, that lo I see
Grazing his cattel in those pleasant fieldes!
O if he knew his good, how blessed hee
That feeles not what affliction greatnes yeeldes,
Other then what he is he would not bee,
Not chaung his state with him that Scepters weildes:
O thine is that true life, that is to liue,
To rest secure, and not rise vp to grieue.

65

Thou ſit'ſt at home ſafe by thy quiet fire
And hear'ſt of others harmes, but feeleſt none;
And there thou telſt of kinges and who aſpire,
Who fall, who riſe, who triumphs, who doe mone:
Perhappes thou talkſt of mee, and doſt inquire
Of my reſtraint, why here I liue alone,
O know tis others ſin not my deſart,
And I could wiſh I were but as thou art.

66

Thrice-happie you that looke as from the ſhore
And haue no venter in the wracke you ſee,
No ſorrow, no occaſion to deplore
Other mens trauayles while your ſelues ſit free.
How much doth your ſweet reſt make vs the more
To ſee our miſery and what we bee?
O blinded greatnes! thou with thy turmoyle
Still ſeeking happie life, mak'ſt life a toyle.

67

But looke on mee, and note my troubled raigne,
Examine all the courſe of my vext life;
Compare my little ioyes with my long paine,
And note my pleaſures rare, my ſorrowes rife,
My childhood ſpent in others pride, and gaine,
My youth in daunger, farther yeares in ſtrife,
My courſes croſt, my deedes wreſt to the worſt,
My honour ſpoild, my life in daunger forſt.

This

68

This is my ſtate, and this is all the good
That wretched I haue gotten by a crowne,
This is the life that coſtes men ſo much bloud
And more then bloud to make the ſame their owne,
O had not I then better beene t' haue ſtood
On lower ground, and ſafely liu'd vnknowne,
And beene a heards man rather then a king,
Which inexperience thinkes ſo ſweet a thing.

69

Diocleſian the Empe-ror. O thou great *Monarch*, and more great therefore
For ſkorning that whereto vaine pride aſpires,
Reckning thy gardens in *Illiria* more
Then all the Empire; took'ſt thoſe ſweet retires:
Thou well didſt teach, that ô he is not poore
That little hath, but he that much deſires:
Finding more true delight in that ſmall ground
Then in poſſeſſing all the earth was found.

70

But what do I repeating others good
To vexe mine owne perplexed ſoule the more?
Alas how ſhould I now free this poore bloud
And care-worne body from this ſtate reſtore?
How ſhould I looke for life or liuely-hood
Kept here diſtreſt to die, condemnd before,
A ſacrifice prepared for his peace
That can but by my death haue his releaſe?

Are

71

Are kings that freedom giue themselues not free,
As meaner men to take what they maie giue?
O are they of so fatall a degree
That they cannot discend from that and liue?
Vnlesse they still be kings can they not bee,
Nor maie they their autority survive?
Will not my yeelded crowne redeeme my breath?
Still am I fear'd? is there no way but death?

72

Scarce this word death had sorrow vttered,
But in rusht one, and tels him how a knight
Is come from court, his name deliuered.
What newes with him said he that traiterous wight?
What more remoues? must we be farther lead?
Are we not sent inough yet out of sight?
Or hath this place not strength sufficient
To guard vs in? or haue they worse intent?

73

By this the bloudy troope were at the dore,
When as a sodaine and a strange dismay
Inforst them straine, who should go in before;
One offers, and in offring makes a stay:
Another forward sets and doth no more;
A third the like, and none durst make the way:
So much the horror of so vile a deed
In vilest mindes hinders them to proceed.

74

At length to some great assault the knight
Cheeres vp his fainting men all that he can,
And valiantly their courage doth incite
And all against one weake vnarmed man:
A great exployt worthy a man of might,
Much honour wretch herein thy valor wan:
Ah poore weake prince, yet men that presence feare
Which once they knew autoritie did beare.

75

Then on thrustes one, and he would formost be
To shead anothers bloud, but lost his owne;
For entring in, as soone as he did see
The face of maiestie so him well knowne,
Like *Marius* soldier at *Minternum*, hee
Stood still amazd his courage ouerthrowne:
The king seeing this, startes vp from where he sate
Out from his trembling hand his weapon gate.

76

Thus euen his foes that came to bring him death,
Bring him a weapon that before had none,
That yet he might not idly loose his breath
But die reuenging in action not alone:
And this good chaunce that this much fauoureth
He slackes not, for he presently speedes one,
And Lion-like vpon the rest he flies,
And here falles one, and there another lies.

77

And vp and downe he trauerses his ground,
Now wardes a felling blow, now strikes againe,
Then nimbly shiftes a thrust, then lendes a wound,
Now backe he giues, then rushes on amaine,
His quicke and readie hand doth so confound
These shamefull beastes that foure of them lies slain,
And all had perisht happily and well
But for one act, that ô I greiue to tell.

78

This coward knight seeing with shame and feare
His men thus slaine and doubting his owne end,
Leapes vp into a chaire that lo was there,
The whiles the king did all his courage bend
Against those foure that now before him were,
Doubting not who behind him doth attend,
And plies his handes vndaunted, vnaffeard
And with good hart, and life for life he stird.

79

And whiles he this, and that, and each mans blow
Doth eye, defend, and shift, being laid to sore
Backward he beares for more aduauntage now,
Thinking the wall would safegard him the more,
When lo with impious hand o wicked thou
That shamefull durst not come to strike before,
Behind him gau'st that wofull deadly wound,
That laid that most sweet Prince flat on the ground.

80

Monster of men, ô what hast thou here done
Vnto an ouerpressed innocent,
Lab'ring against so many, he but one,
And one poore soule with care, with sorrow spent?
O could thy eies indure to looke vpon
Thy hands disgrace, or didst thou then relent?
But what thou didst I will not here deuine
Nor straine my thoughts to enter into thine.

81

But leaue thee wretch vnto blacke infamie,
To darke eternall horror, and disgrace,
The hatefull skorne to all posterity,
The out-cast of the world, last of thy race,
Of whose curst seed, nature did then deny
To bring forth more her faire workes to deface:
And as asham'd to haue produc'd that past
She staies her hand, and makes this worst her last.

82

There lies that comely body all imbrude
With that pure bloud, mixt with that fowle he shed:
O that those sacred streames with such vile rude
Vnhallowed matter should be mingled!
O why was grossenes with such grace indude,
To be with that sweet mixture honoured?
Or seru'd it but as some vile graue ordaind,
Where an imbalmed corpes should be containd?

83

Thoſe faire diſtended limmes all trembling lay,
Whom yet nor life nor death their owne could call,
For life remou'd had not rid all away,
And death though entring ſeas'd not yet on all:
That ſhort-tim'd motion (that ſoone finiſh ſhall
The mouer ceaſing) yet a while doth ſtay,
As th' organ ſound a time ſuruiues the ſtop
Before it doth the dying note giue vp:

84

So holdes thoſe organs of that goodly frame
The weake remaines of life a little ſpace,
But ah full ſoone cold death poſſeſt the ſame,
Set are thoſe ſun-like eies, bloudleſſe that face,
And all that comely whole a lump became,
All that fair forme which death could ſcarce diſgrace
Lies periſht thus, and thus vntimely fate
Hath finiſht his moſt miſerable ſtate.

85

And thus one king moſt nere in bloud allide
Is made th' oblation for the others peace:
Now onely one, both name and all beſide
Intirely hath, plurality doth ceaſe:
He that remaines, remaines vnterriſide
With others right; this day doth all releaſe:
And henceforth he is abſolutely king,
No crownes but one, this deed confirmes the thing.

86

And yet new *Hydraes* lo, new heades appeare,
T'afflict that peace reputed then so sure,
And gaue him much to do, and much to feare,
And long and daungerous tumults did procure,
And those euen of his chiefest followers were
Of whom he might presume him most secure,
Who whether not so grac'd or so preferd
As they expected, these new factions stird.

87

The *Percyes* were the men, men of great might,
Strong in alliance, and in courage strong
That thus conspire, vnder pretence to right
The crooked courses they had suffered long:
Whether their conscience vrgd them or despight,
Or that they saw the part they tooke was wrong,
Or that ambition hereto did them call,
Or others enuide grace, or rather all.

88

What cause soeuer were, strong was their plot,
Their parties great, meanes good, th'occasion fit:
Their practise close, their faith suspected not,
Their states far off and they of wary wit:
Who with large promises draw in the Scot
To ayde their cause, he likes, and yeeldes to it,
Not for the loue of them or for their good,
But glad hereby of meanes to shed our blood.

Then

89

Then ioyne they with the *Welsh*, who stilly traind
And all in armes vnder a mightie head
Great *Glendowr*, who long warr'd, and much attaind, *Owen Glendor.*
Sharp conflicts made, and many vanquished:
With whom was *Edmond Earle* of *March* retaind
Being first his prisoner, now confedered,
A man the king much fear'd, and well he might
Least he should looke whether his Crown stood right.

90

For *Richard*, for the quiet of the state, *Rich. 2.*
Before he tooke those *Irish* warres in hand
About succession doth deliberate,
And finding how the certaine right did stand,
With full consent this man did ordinate
The heyre apparent to the crowne and land:
Then iudge if this the king might nerely touch,
Although his might were smal, his right being much.

91

With these the *Percyes* them confederate,
And as three heades they league in one intent,
And instituting a Triumuirate
Do part the land in triple gouerment:
Deuiding thus among themselues the state,
The *Percyes* should rule all the *North* from *Trent*
And *Glendowr Wales*: the *Earle* of *March* should bee
Lord of the *South* from *Trent*; and thus they gree.

Then

92

Then those two helpes which still such actors find
Pretence of common good, the kings disgrace
Doth fit their course, and draw the vulgar mind
To further them and aide them in this case:
The king they accusd for cruell, and vnkind
That did the state, and crowne, and all deface;
A periurde man that held all faith in skorne,
Whose trusted othes had others made forsworne.

93

Besides the odious detestable act
Of that late murdered king they aggrauate,
Making it his that so had will'd the fact
That he the doers did remunerate:
And then such taxes daily doth exact
That were against the orders of the state,
And with all these or worse they him assaild
Who late of others with the like preuaild.

94

Thus doth contentious proud mortality
Afflict each other and it selfe torment:
And thus o thou mind-tortring misery
Restles ambition, borne in discontent,
Turnst and retossest with iniquity
The vnconstant courses frailty did inuent:
And fowlst faire order and defilst the earth
Fostring vp warre, father of bloud and dearth.

Great

95

Great ſeemd the cauſe, and greatly to, did ad
The peoples loue thereto theſe crimes rehearſt,
That manie gathered to the troupes they had
And many more do flocke from coſts diſperſt:
But when the king had heard theſe newes ſo bad,
Th'vnlookt for dangerous toyle more nearly perſt;
For bēt t'wards *Wales* t'appeaſe thoſe tumults there,
H'is for'ſt diuert his courſe, and them forbeare.

96

Not to giue time vnto th'increaſing rage
And gathering fury, forth he haſtes with ſpeed,
Leſt more delay or giuing longer age
To th'euill growne, it might the cure exceed:
All his beſt men at armes, and leaders ſage
All he prepard he could, and all did need;
For to a mighty worke thou goeſt ô king,
To ſuch a field that power to power ſhall bring.

97

There ſhall young *Hoteſpur* with a fury lead
Meete with thy forward ſonne as fierce as he:
There warlike *Worſter* long experienced
In forraine armes, ſhall come t'incounter thee:
There *Dowglas* to thy *Stafford* ſhall make head:
There *Vernon* for thy valiant *Blunt* ſhalbe:
There ſhalt thou find a doubtfull bloudy day,
Though ſickneſſe keepe *Northumberland* away.

The ſon to the Earle of Northū-berland.

98

Who yet reſeru'd, though after quit for this,
Another tempeſt on thy head to raiſe,
As if ſtill wrong reuenging *Nemeſis*
Did meane t'afflict all thy continuall dayes:
And yet this field he happely might miſſe
For thy great good, and therefore well he ſtaies:
What might his force haue done being ioynd there
When that already gaue ſo much to do? (to,

99

The ſwift approch and vnexſpected ſpeed
The king had made vpon this new-raiſd force
In th'vnconfirmed troupes much feare did breed,
Vntimely hindring their intended courſe;
The ioyning with the *Welſh* they had decreed
Was hereby ſtopt, which made their part the worſe,
Northumberland with forces from the *North*
Expected to be there, was not ſet forth.

100

And yet vndaunted *Hotſpur* ſeeing the king
So nere approch'd, leauing the worke in hand
With forward ſpeed his forces marſhalling,
Sets forth his farther comming to withſtand:
And with a cheerfull voice incouraging
By his great ſpirit his well im boldned band,
Bringes a ſtrong hoſt of firme reſolued might,
And plac'd his troupes before the king in ſight.

This

101

This day (saith he) ô faithfull valiaunt frendes,
What euer it doth giue, shall glorie giue:
This day with honor frees our state, or endes
Our misery with fame, that still shall liue,
And do but thinke how well this day he spendes
That spendes his bloud his countrey to relieue:
Our holie cause, our freedome, and our right,
Sufficient are to moue good mindes to fight.

102

Besides th'assured hope of victory
That wee may euen promise on our side
Against this weake-constrained companie,
Whom force & feare, not will, and loue doth guide
Against a prince whose foule impiety
The heauens do hate, the earth cannot abide,
Our number being no lesse, our courage more,
What need we doubt if we but worke therefore.

103

This said, and thus resolu'd euen bent to charge
Vpon the king, who well their order viewd
And carefull noted all the forme at large
Of their proceeding, and their multitude:
And deeming better if he could discharge
The day with safetie, and some peace conclude,
Great proffers sendes of pardon, and of grace
If they would yeeld, and quietnes imbrace.

104

But this refusd, the king with wrath incensd
Rage against fury doth with speed prepare:
And ô saith he, though I could haue dispensd
With this daies bloud, which I haue sought to spare
That greater glory might haue recompensd
The forward worth of these that so much dare,
That we might honor had by th'ouerthrown (own.
That th' wounds we make, might not haue bin our

105

Yet since that other mens iniquity
Calles on the sword of wrath against my will,
And that themselues exact this cruelty,
And I constrained am this bloud to spill:
Then on my maisters, on couragiously
True-harted subiects against traitors ill,
And spare not them who seeke to spoile vs all,
Whose fowle confused end soone see you shall.

106

Straight moues with equall motion equall rage
The like incensed armies vnto blood,
One to defend, another side to wage
Foule ciuill war, both vowes their quarrell good:
Ah too much heate to bloud doth now inrage
Both who the deed prouokes and who withstood,
That valor here is vice, here manhood sin,
The forward st hands doth ô least honor win.

But

107

But now begin these fury-mouing sounds
The notes of wrath that musicke brought from hell,
The ratling drums which trumpets voice cõfounds,
The cryes, th'incouragements, the shouting shrell;
That all about the beaten ayre rebounds,
Thundring confused, murmurs horrible,
To rob all sence except the sence to fight,
Well handes may worke, the mind hath lost his sight.

108

O war! begot in pride and luxury,
The child of wrath and of dissention,
Horrible good; mischiefe necessarie,
The fowle reformer of confusion,
Vniust-iust scourge of our iniquitie,
Cruell recurer of corruption:
O that these sin-sicke states in need should stand
To be let bloud with such a boystrous hand!

109

And ô how well thou hadst bene spar'd this day
Had not wrong counsaild *Percy* bene peruers, *The Prince of Wales.*
Whose yong vndanger'd hand now rash makes way
Vpon the sharpest fronts of the most fierce:
Where now an equall fury thrusts to stay
And rebeat backe that force and his dispersse,
Then these assaile, then those chace backe againe,
Till staid with new-made hils of bodies slaine.

100

There lo that new-appearing glorious flame!
Wonder of Armes, the terror of the field
Young *Henrie*, laboring where the ſtouteſt are,
And euen the ſtouteſt forces backe to yeild,
There is that hand boldned to bloud and warre
That muſt the ſword in woundrous actions weild:
But better hadſt thou learnd with others bloud
A leſſe expence to vs, to thee more good.

101

Hadſt thou not there lent preſent ſpeedy ayd
To thy indaungerde father nerely tyrde,
Whom fierce incountring *Douglas* ouerlaid,
That day had there his troublous life expirde:
Which was ſir Walter Blunt Heroycall Couragious *Blunt* araid
In habite like as was the king attirde
And deemd for him, excuſd that fate with his,
For he had what his Lord did hardly miſſe.

102

For thought a king he would not now diſgrace
The perſon then ſuppoſd, but princelike ſhewes
Glorious effects of worth that fit his place,
And fighting dyes, and dying ouerthrowes:
Another Blunt which was the kings Standard bearer. Another of that forward name and race
In that hotte worke his valiant life beſtowes,
Who bare the ſtandard of the king that day,
Whoſe colours ouerthrowne did much diſmaie.

And

113

And deare it cost, and ô much bloud is shed
To purchase thee this loosing victory
O trauayld king: yet hast thou conquered
A doubtfull day, a mightie enemy!
But ô what woundes, what famous worthi lyes dead/
That makes the winner looke with sorrowing eye,
Magnanimous *Stafford* lost that much had wrought, *Sir Hugh Shorly.*
And valiant *Shorly* who great glory gote.

114

Such wracke of others bloud thou didst behold
O furious *Hotspur*, ere thou lost thine owne!
Which now once lost that heate in thine waxt cold,
And soone became thy Armie ouerthrowne,
And ô that this great spirit, this courage bold,
Had in some good cause bene rightly showne!
So had not we thus violently then
Haue termd that rage, which valor should haue ben.

115

But now the king retires him to his peace,
A peace much like a feeble sickemans sleepe,
(Wherein his waking paines do neuer cease
Though seeming rest his closed eyes doth keepe)
For ô no peace could euer releasse
His intricate turmoiles, and sorrowes deepe,
But that his cares kept waking all his life
Continue on till death conclude the strife.

Whose

116

Whose hatefull sicknes, being left before
With full commission to denounce his end,
And paine, and griefe, enforcing more and more,
Besiegd the hold that could not long defend,
And so consum'd all that imboldning store
Of hote gaine-striuing bloud that did contend,
Wearing the wall so thin that now the mind
Might well looke thorow, and his frailty find.

117

When lo, as if the vapours vanisht were,
Which heate of boyling bloud & health did breed,
(To cloude the sence that nothing might appeare
Vnto the thought, that which it was indeed)
The lightned soule began to see more cleere
How much it was abusd, & notes with heed
The plaine discouered falsehood open laid
Of ill perswading flesh that so betraid.

118

And lying on his last afflicted bed
Where death & conscience both before him stand,
Th'one holding out a booke wherein he red
In bloudie lines the deedes of his owne hand;
The other shewes a glasse, which figured
An ougly forme of fowle corrupted sand:
Both bringing horror in the hyest degree
With what he was, and what he straight should bee.

Which

Which ſeeing all confuſd trembling with feare
He lay a while, as ouerthrowne in ſprite,
At laſt commaunds ſome that attending were
To fetch the crowne and ſet it in his ſight,
On which with fixed eye and heauy cheere
Caſting a looke, *O God* (ſaith he) what right
I had to thee my ſoule doth now conceiue;
Thee, which with bloud I gote, with horror leaue.

120

Wert thou the cauſe my climing care was ſuch
To paſſe thoſe boundes, nature, and law ordaind?
Is this that good which promiſed ſo much,
And ſeemd ſo glorious ere it was attaind?
Wherein was neuer ioye but gaue a touch
To checke my ſoule to thinke, how thou wert gaind,
And now how do I leaue thee vnto mine,
Which it is dread to keepe, death to reſigne.

121

With this the ſoule rapt wholy with the thought
Of ſuch diſtreſſe, did ſo attentiue weigh
Her preſent horror, whilſt as if forgote
The dull conſumed body ſenceles lay,
And now as breathles quite, quite dead is thought,
When lo his ſonne comes in, and takes awaie
The fatall crowne from thence, and out he goes
As if vnwilling longer time to loſe.

And whilst that sad confused soule doth cast
Those great accounts of terror and distresse,
Vppon this counsell it doth light at last
How she might make the charge of horror lesse,
And finding no way to acquit thats past
But onely this, to vse some quicke redresse
Of acted wrong, with giuing vp againe
The crowne to whom it seem'd to appertaine.

123

Which found, lightned with some small ioy shee
Rouses her seruaunts that dead sleeping lay, (hyes,
(The members of hir house,) to exercise
One feeble dutie more, during her stay:
And opening those darke windowes he espies
The crowne for which he lookt was borne awaie,
And all-agrieu'd with the vnkind offence
He caus'd him bring it backe that tooke it thence.

124

To whom (excusing his presumteous deed
By the supposing him departed quite)
He said: ô Sonne what needes thee make such speed
Vnto that care, where feare exceeds thy right,
And where his sinne whom thou shalt now succeed
Shall still vpbraid thy inheritance of might,
And if thou canst liue, and liue great from wo
Without this carefull trauaile; let it go.

125

Nay father ſince your fortune did attaine
So hye a ſtand: I meane not to deſcend,
Replyes the Prince; as if what you did gaine
I were of ſpirit vnable to defend:
Time will appeaſe them well that now complaine,
And ratefie our intereſt in the end;
What wrong hath not continuance quite outworne?
Yeares makes that right which neuer was ſo borne.

126

If ſo, God worke his pleaſure (ſaid the king)
And ô do thou contend with all thy might
Such euidence of vertuous deeds to bring,
That well may proue our wrong to be our right:
And let the goodnes of the managing
Race out the blot of foule attayning quite:
That diſcontent may all aduauntage miſſe
To wiſh it otherwiſe then now it is.

127

And ſince my death my purpoſe doth preuent
Touching this ſacred warre I tooke in hand,
(An action wherewithall my ſoule had ment
T'appeaſe my God, and reconcile my land)
To thee is left to finiſh my intent,
Who to be ſafe muſt neuer idly ſtand;
But ſome great actions entertaine thou ſtill
To hold their mindes who elſe will practiſe ill.

128

Thou haſt not that aduantage by my raigne
To riot it (as they whom long deſcent
Hath purchaſd loue by cuſtome) but with payne
Thou muſt contend to buy the worlds content:
What their birth gaue them, thou haſt yet to gaine
By thine owne vertues, and good gouernment,
And that vnles thy worth confirme the thing
Thou canſt not be the father to a king.

129

Nor art thou born in thoſe calme daies, where reſt
Hath brought a ſleepe ſluggiſh ſecuritie;
But in tumultuous times, where mindes adreſt
To factions are inur'd to mutinie,
A miſchiefe not by force to be ſuppreſt
Where rigor ſtill begets more enmitie,
Hatred muſt be beguild with ſome new courſe,
Where ſtates are ſtrong, & princes doubt their force

130

This and much more affliction would haue ſaid
Out of th'experience of a troublous raigne,
For which his high deſires had dearly paide
Th'intereſt of an euer-toyling paine
But that this all-ſubduing powre here ſtaid
His faultring tongue and paine r'infore'd againe,
And cut off all the paſſages of breath
To bring him quite vnder the ſtate of death.

In

113

In whoſe poſſeſſion I muſt leaue him now,
And now into the *Ocean* of new toyles,
Into the ſtormie Maine where tempeſts grow
Of greater ruines, and of greater ſpoiles
Set forth my courſe to haſten on my vow
O're all the troublous deepe of theſe turmoiles:
And if I may but liue t'attaine the ſhore
Of my deſired end, I wiſh no more.

132

Help on ô ſou'raigne *Muſe*, helpe on my courſe
If theſe my toyles be gratefull in thy eyes;
Or but looke on, to cheere my feeble force
That I faint not in this great enterprize:
And you ô worthy you, that take remorſe
Of my eſtate, and helpe my thoughts to riſe;
Continue ſtill your grace that I may giue
End to the worke wherein your worth may liue.

113

In whose possession I must leaue him now,
And now into the *Germ* of new toyles,
Into the stormie Maine where tempests grow
Of greater ruines, and of greater spoiles
Set forth my course to hasten on my vow
O're all the troublous deepe of these turmoiles:
And if I may but liue t'attaine the shore
Of my desired end, I wish no more.

132

Help on ô sou'raigne *Myse*, helpe on my course
If these my toyles be grateful in thy eyes;
Or but locke on, to cheere my feeble force
That I faint not in this great enterprize:
And you ô worthy you, that take remorse
Of my estate, and helpe my thoughts to rise;
Continue still your grace that I may giue
End to the worke wherein your worth may liue.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

Henry *the fifth cuts off his enemy*
The earle of Cambridge *that conspir'd his death:*
Henry *the sixt maryed vnluckely*
His and his countryes glory ruineth:
Suffolke *that made the match preferd too hie*
Going to exile a pirat murthereth:
What meanes the Duke of Yorke *obserued to gaine*
The worlds goodwill, seeking the crowne t'attaine.

I

CLose smothered lay the low depressed fire,
Whose after-issuing flames confounded all *Hen.5.*
Whilst thou victorious *Henry* didst conspire
The wracke of *Fraunce*, that at thy feete did fall:
Whilst ioyes of gotten spoiles, and new desire
Of greater gaine to greater deedes did call (taine
Thy conquering troupes, that could no thoughts re-
But thoughts of glorie all that working raigne.

What

2

What do I feele ô now in paſſing by
Theſe bleſſed times that I am forſt to leaue?
What trembling ſad remorſe doth terrefie
M' amazed thought with what I do conceiue?
What? doth my pen commit impietie
To paſſe thoſe ſacred *tropheis* without leaue?
And do I ſin, not to ſalute your ghoſtes
Great worthies, ſo renown'd in forraine coaſts?

3

Who do I ſee out of the darke appeare,
Couered almoſt with clowdes as with the night,
That here preſents him with a martiall cheere
Seeming of dreadfull, and yet louely ſight?
Whoſe eye giues courage, & whoſe brow hath feare
Both repreſenting terror and delight,
And ſtaies my courſe, and off my purpoſe breakes,
And in obraiding wordes thus fierſly ſpeakes.

4

Vngratefull times that impiouſly neglect
That worth that neuer times againe ſhall ſhew,
What, merites all our toile no more reſpect?
Or elſe ſtandes idlenes aſham'd to know
Thoſe wondrous Actions that do ſo obiect
Blame to the wanton, ſin vnto the ſlow?
Can *England* ſee the beſt that ſhee can boaſt
Ly thus vnfgrac'd, vndeckt, and almoſt loſt?

Why

5

Why do you seeke for fained *Palladms*
Out of the smoke of idle vanitie,
That maie giue glorie to the true diffignes
Of *Bourchier, Talbot, Neuile, Willoughby?*
Why should not you striue to fill vp your lines
With wonders of your owne, with veritie?
T' inflame their offpring with the loue of Good
And glorious true examples of their bloud.

6

O what eternall matter here is found!
Whence new immortall *Iliads* might proceed,
That those whose happie graces do abound
In blessed accents here maie haue to feed
Good thoughts, on no imaginary ground
Of hungrie shadowes which no profit breed:
Whence musicke like, instant delight may grow,
But when men all do know they nothing know.

7

And why dost thou in lamentable verse
Nothing but bloudshed, trealons, sin and shame,
The worst of times, th' extreame of ills rehearse,
To raise old staines, and to renew dead blame?
As if the minds of th' evill, and perverse
Were not far sooner trained from the same
By good example of faire vertuous acts,
Then by the shew of foule vngodly facts.

8

O that our times had had some sacred wight,
Whose wordes as happie as our swordes had bin
To haue prepard for vs *Tropheis* aright
Of vndecaying frames t'haue rested in:
Triumphant Arkes of perdurable might
O holy lines: that such aduauntage win
Vpon the Sieth of time in spight of yeares,
How blessed they that gaine what neuer weares.

9

What is it ô to do, if what we do
Shall perish nere as soone as it is donne?
What is that glorie we attaine vnto
With all our toile, if lost as soone as wonne?
O small requitall for so great a doo
Is this poore present breath a smoake soone gone;
Or these dombe stones erected for our sake,
Which formles heapes few stormie chaunges make.

10

Tell great ELIZA since her daies are grac'd
With those bright ornaments to vs denide,
That she repaire what darknes hath defac'd,
And get our ruyn'd deedes reedifide:
Shee in whose all directing eye is plac'd
A powre the highest powers of wit to guide,
She may commaund the worke and ouersee
The holy frame that might eternall bee.

11

O would she be content that time should make
A rauenous pray vpon her glorious raigne;
That darknes and the night should ouertake
So cleere a brightnes, shining without staine?
Ah no, she fosters some no doubt that wake
For her eternity, with pleasing paine:
And if she for her selfe prepare this good,
O let her not neglect those of her bloud.

12

This that great *Monarch Henry* seemd to craue; *Hen. 5.*
When (weighing what a holy motiue here
Vertue propos'd, and fit for him to haue,
Whom all times ought of dutie hold most deare)
I sighd, and wish'd that some would take t'ingraue
With curious hand so proud a worke to reare,
To grace the present, and to blesse times past,
That might for euer to our glorie last.

13

So should our well taught times haue learn'd alike
How faire shind vertue, and how foule vice stood,
When now my selfe haue driuen to mislike
Those deedes of worth I dare not vow for good:
I cannot mone who lose, nor praise who seeke
By mightie Actions to aduaunce their bloud;
I must sait, who wrought most, least honor had,
How euer good the cause, the deedes were bad.

14

And onely tell the worst of euery raine
And not the intermedled good report,
I leaue what glorye vertue did attaine
At th'euermemorable Agincorte:
I leaue to tell what wit, what powre did gaine
Th'affieged *Roan*, *Caen*, *Dreux*, or in what sort:
How maiestie with terror did aduaunce
Her conquering foote on all subdued *Fraunce*.

15

All this I passe, and that magnanimous King
Mirror of vertue, miracle of worth,
Whose mightie Actions with wise managing
Forst prouder bosting climes to serue the *North*:
The best of all the best the earth can bring,
Skarse equals him in what his raigne brought forth,
Being of a mind as forward to aspire
As fit to gouerne what he did desire.

16

His comely body was a goodly seate
Where vertue dwelt most faire as lodged most pure,
A bodie strong where vse of strength did get
A stronger state to do, and to endure:
Making his life th'example to beget
Like spirit in those he did to good in vre,
Most glorying to aduaunce true vertuous bloud,
As if he greatnes sought but to do good.

Who

17

Who as the chiefe, and all-directing head,
Did with his subiects as his members hue,
And them to goodnes forced not, but lead
Winning not much to haue, but much to giue:
Deeming the powre of his, his powre did spread
As borne to blesse the world & not to grieue:
Adornd with others spoiles not subiects store,
No king exacting lesse, none winning more.

18

He after that corrupted faith had bred
An ill inur'd obedience for commaund,
And languishing luxuriousnes had spred
Feeble vnaptnes ouer all the land,
Yet he those long vnordred troupes so led
Vnder such sormall discipline to stand,
That euen his soule seemd only to direct
So great a bodie such exployts t'effect.

19

He bringes abrode distracted discontent,
Disperst ill humors into actions hie,
And to vnite them all in one consent
Plac'd the faire marke of glorie in their eye,
That malice had no leasure to dissent,
Nor enuie time to practise treachery,
The present actions do diuert the thought
Of madnes past, while mindes were so well wrought.

20

Here now were pride, oppression, vsury,
The canker-eating mischeifes of the state,
Cal'd forth to praie vppon the enemie,
Whilst the home-burthned better lightned sate:
Ease was not suffered with a gredie eye
T'examine states or priuate wealthes to rate,
The silent Courtes warr'd not with busie wordes,
Nor wrested law gaue the contentious swordes.

21

Now nothing entertaines th'attentiue eare
But stratagems, assaults, surprises, fights;
How to giue lawes to them that conquered were,
How to articulate with yeelding wights:
The weake with mercie, and the proud with feare
How to retaine; to giue desarts their right,
Were now the Arts, and nothing else was thought
But how to win and maintaine what was gote.

22

Here ô were none that priuately possest
And held alone imprisoned maiestie,
Proudly debarring entraunce from the rest
As if the praie were theirs by victorie:
Here no detractor woundes who merits best,
Nor shameles brow cheeres on impietie,
Vertue who all her toyle with zeale had spent
Not here all vnrewarded, sighing went.

But

23

But here the equally respecting eye
Of powre, looking alike on like desarts,
Blessing the good made others good thereby,
More mightie by the multitude of harts:
The field of glorie vnto all doth lie
Open alike, honor to all imparts;
So that the only fashion in request
Was to bee good or good-like, as the rest.

24

So much ô thou example dost effect
Being far a better maister then commaund,
That how to do by doing doth direct
And teacheſt others, action by thy hand.
Who followes not the course that kings elect?
When Princes worke, who then will idle stand?
And when that dooing good is onely thought
Worthy reward, who will be bad for nought?

25

And had not th' earle of *Cãbridge* with vaine speed
Vntimely practizd for anothers right,
With hope t'aduaunce those of his proper seed,
(On whom yet rule seem'd destined to light)
The land had seene none of her owne to bleed
During this raigne, nor no aggrieued sight:
None the least blacknes interclouded had
So faire a day, nor any eye look't sad,

But

26

But now when *Fraunce* perceiuing from a far
The gathering tempest growing on from hence
Readie to fall, on entering their state to marre,
They labor all meanes to prouide defence:
And practising how to preuent this warre,
And shut out such calamities from thence,
Do foster here some discord lately growne
To hold Ambition buried with her owne.

27

Finding those humors which they saw were fit
Soone to be wrought and easie to be bred,
Swolne full with enuie that the crowne should sit
There where it did, as if established:
And whom it touch in bloud to grieue at it
They with such hopes and helps sollicited,
That this great Earle was drawne t'attempt the thing
And practises how to depose the king.

28

For being of mightie meanes to do the deed
And yet of mightier hopes then meanes to do,
And yet of spirit that did his hopes exceed,
And then of bloud as great to aid thereto:
All which, with what the gold of *Fraunce* could breed
Being powers inough a climing mind to woo,
He so imploid, that many he had wonne
Euen of the chiefe the king relide vpon.

The

29

The wel-known right of the Earle of *March* alurd
A leaning loue, whose cause he did pretend;
Whereby he knew that so himselfe procurd
The Crowne for his owne children in the end:
For the Earle being (as he was assurd)
Vnapt for issue, it must needes descend
On those of his being next of *Clarence* race,
As who by course of right should hold the place.

30

It was the time when as the forward Prince
Had all prepar'd for his great enterprize,
And readie stand his troupes to part from hence
And all in stately forme and order lyes:
When open fame giues out intelligence
Of these bad complots of his enemies:
Or else this time of purpose chosen is
Though knowne before, yet let run on till this.

At Southhamton.

31

That this might yeeld the more to aggrauate
Vpon so foule a deed so vilely sought,
Now at this time t'attempt to ruinate
So glorious great disseignes so forward brought:
Whilst carefull vertue seekes t'aduaunce the state
And for her euerlasting honor sought
That though the cause were right, and title strong
The time of doing it, yet makes it wrong.

32

And straight an vnlamented death he had,
And straight were ioyfully the Anchors weighd
And all flocke fast abord, with visage glad,
As if the sacrifize had now beene payd
For their good speed; that made their stay so sad
Lothing the least occasion that delayd. (windes
And now new thoughts, great hopes, calme seas, fair
Whith present action intertaines their mindes.

33

No other crosse ô *Henry* saw thy daies
But this that toucht thy now possessed hold;
Richard Duke of Yorke. Nor after long, till this mans sonne assaies
To get of thine the right that he controwld:
For which contending long, his life he paies;
So that it fatall seemd the father should
Thy winning seeke to staie, and then his sonne
Should be the cause to loose, when thou hadst won.

34

Yet now in this so happie a meane while
And interlightning times thy vertues wrought,
That discord had no leasure to defile
So faire attempts with a tumultuous thought:
And euen thy selfe, thy selfe didst so beguile
With such attention vppon what was sought,
That time affoordes not now with care or hate
Others to seeke, there to secure thy state.

35

Else ô how easie had it beene for thee
All the pretendant race t'haue laid full low:
If thou proceeded hadst with crueltie,
Not suffering anie fatall branch to grow:
But vnsuspicious magnanimitie
Shames such effects of feare, and force to show:
Busied in free, and open Actions still
Being great; for being good, hates to be ill.

36

Which ô how much it were to be requir'd
In all of might, if all were like of mind;
But when that all deprau'd haue conspird
To be vniust, what safetie shall they find
(After the date of vertue is expird)
That do not practize in the selfe-same kind,
And countermine against deceite with guile?
But ô what mischiefe feeles the world the while?

37

And yet such wronges are held meete to be don,
And often for the state thought requisite,
As when the publicke good depends thereon,
When most iniustice is esteemd most right:
But ô what good with doing ill is won?
Who hath of bloud made such a benefite
As hath not fear'd more after then before,
And made his peace the lesse, his plague the more?

38

Far otherwise dealt this vndaunted king
That cheerished the ofspring of his foes
And his competitors to grace did bring,
And them his frendes for Armes, and honors, chose:
As if plaine courses were the safest thing
Where vpright goodnes, sure, and stedfast goes
Free from that subtile mask't impietie,
Which this depraued world calles policie.

39

Yet how hath fate dispos'd of all this good?
What haue these vertues after times availd?
In what steed hath hy-raised valor stood,
When this continuing cause of greatnes faild?
Then when proud-growne the irritated bloud
Enduring not it selfe it selfe assaild,
As though that *Prowesse* had but learnt to spill
Much bloud abrode to cut her throte with skill.

40

O doth th'*Eternall* in the course of thinges
So mixe the causes both of good and ill,
That thus the one effects of th'other bringes,
As what seemes made to blisse, is borne to spill?
What from the best of vertues glorie springes
That which the world with miserie doth fill?
Is th'end of happines but wretchednesse,
Hath sin his plague, and vertue no successe?

Either

41

Either that is not good, the world holds good,
Or elſe is ſo confuſd with ill, that we
Abuſed with th'appearing likelihood
Run to offend, whilſt we thinke good to be;
Or elſe the heauens made man, in furious bloud
To torture man: And that no courſe is free
From miſchiefe long. And that faire daies do breed
But ſtorms, to make more foule, times that ſucceed.

42

Who would haue thought but ſo great victories,
Such conqueſts, riches, land, and kingdome gaind,
Could not but haue eſtabliſh't in ſuch wiſe
This powreful ſtate, in ſtate to haue remaind?
Who would haue thought that miſchief could deuiſe
A way ſo ſoone to looſe what was attaind?
As greatnes were but ſhewd to grieue not grace,
And to reduce vs into far worſe caſe.

43

With what contagion *France* didſt thou infect
The land by thee made proud, to diſagree?
T'inrage them ſo their owne ſwords to direct
Vpon themſelues that were made ſharpe in thee?
Why didſt thou teach them here at home t'erect
Trophees of their bloud which of thine ſhould be?
Or was the date of thy affliction out,
And ſo was ours by courſe to come about?

144

But that untimely death of this Great King,
Whose nine yeares raign so mighty wōders wrought
To thee thy hopes, to vs despaire did bring
Not long to keepe, and gouerne what was gote:
For those that had th'affaires in managing
Although their countries good they greatly sought,
Yet so ill accidents vnfitly fell
That their desseignes could hardly prosper well.

145

An infant king doth in the state succeed
Skarse one yeare old, lest vnto others guide,
Whose carefull trust, though such as shewd indeed
They waighd their charge more then the world be-
And did with dutie, zeale and loue proceed: (side;
Yet for all what their trauaile could prouide
Could not woo fortune to remaine with vs
When this her Minion was departed thus.

146

But by degrees first this, then that regaind
The turning tide beares backe with flowing chaunce
Vnto the Dolphin all we had attaind,
And fils the late low-running hopes of *Fraunce*,
When *Bedford* who our onely hold maintaind
Death takes from vs their fortune to aduaunce,
And then home strife that on it selfe did fall
Neglecting forraine care, did soone loose all.

Nere

47

Nere three score years are past since *Bullenbroke*
Did first attaine (God knowes how iust) the crowne:
And now his race for right possessors tooke
Were held of all, to hold nought but their owne:
When *Richard Duke* of *Yorke*, begins to looke
Into their right, and makes his title knowne:
Wakening vp sleeping-wrong that lay as dead
To witnes how his race was iniured.

48

His fathers end in him no feare could moue
T'attempt the like against the like of might,
Where long possession now of feare, and loue
Seem'd to prescribe euen an innated right,
So that to proue his state was to disproue
Time, law, consent, oth, and allegeance quight:
And no way but the waie of bloud there was
Through which with all confusion he must passe.

49

O then yet how much better had it beene
T'indure a wrong with peace, then with much toyle
T'obtaine a bloudie right, since Right is sinne
That is ill sought, and purchased with spoile:
What madnes vnconstrained to begin
To right his state, to put the state in broyle?
Iustice her selfe maie euer do wrong in this,
No warre being right but that which needfull is.

And yet that opportunity which led
Him to attempt, seemes likewise him t'excuse:
A feeble spirited king that gouerned
Vnworthy of the Scepter he did vse;
His enemies that his worth malic'ed,
Who both the land and him did much abuse,
The peoples loue, and his apparant right,
May seeme sufficient motiues to incite.

51

Besides the now ripe wrath (deferd till now,)
Of that sure and vnfailing *Justicer*,
That neuer suffers wrong so long to grow
And to incorporate with right so farre;
That it might come to seeme the same in show,
T'incourage those that euill minded are
By such successe; but that at last he will
Confound the branch whose root was planted ill.

52

Else might the ymp ious fry with grudging spright,
Doth God permit the great to riot free,
And blesse the mighty though they doe vnright,
As if he did vnto their wrongs agree?
And only plague the weake and wretched wights
For smallest faults seuen in the highest degree?
When he but vsing them to others to scourge,
Likewise of them at length the world doth purge.

53

But could not ô for bloudſhed ſatiſfie
The now well-ruling of th' ill-gotten crowne?
Muſt euen the good receiue the penaltie
Of former ſinnes that neuer were their owne?
And muſt a iuſt kings bloud with miſerie
Pay for a bad vniuſtly ouerthrowne?
Then ô I ſee due courſe muſt rightly goe
And th' earth muſt trace it or elſe purchaſe woe.

54

And ſure this king that now the crowne poſſeſt
Henry the ſixt was one, whoſe life was free
From that commaund of vice, whereto the reſt
Of many mighty ſoueraignes ſubiectes be:
And numbred might haue beene among the beſt
Of other men, if not of that degree:
A right good man, but yet an euill king
Vnfit for what he had in managing.

55

Mild, meeke of ſpirit, by nature patient:
No thought t' increaſe or ſcarſe to keepe his owne:
Apter for pardoning then for puniſhment,
Seeking his bounty, not his powre t' haue knowne;
Far from reuenge, ſoone won, ſcone made content:
As fitter for a cloyſter then a crowne:
Whoſe holy minde ſo much addicted is
On th' world to come, that he neglecteth this.

56

With such a weake, good, feeble, godly king
Hath *Richard Duke* of *Yorke* his cause to trie:
Who by th'experience of long managing
The warres of *Fraunce* with supreame dignitie;
And by his owne great worth with furthering
The common good against the enemie,
Had wrought that zeale and loue attend his might
And made his spirit equall vnto his right.

57

For now the *Duke* of *Bedford* beeing dead,
He is ordaind the Regent to succeed
In *Fraunce* for fiue yeares, where he trauailed
Whith ready hand and with as carefull heed
To seeke to turne backe fortune that now fled,
And hold vp falling power, in time of need:
And gote, and lost and reattaines againe
That which againe was lost for all his paine.

58

His time expird, he should for fiue yeares more
Haue had his charge prolong'd, but *Sommerset*
That still had enuide his commaund before,
That place and honor for himselfe did get:
Which ans that matter to th' alreadie store
Of kindled hate, which such a fire doth set
Vnto the touch of that confounding flame (same.
As both their blouds could neuer quench the

The Duke of Somerset a great enemy to the Duke of Yorke & had euer enuied his preferm̃t.

And

59

And now the weaknes of that feeble head
That doth neglect all care, but his soules care,
So easie meanes of practise ministred
Vnto th'ambitious members to prepare
Their owne desires, to what their humors lead;
That all good Actions coldly followed are,
And seurall-tending hopes do wholy bend
To other now then to the publique end.

60

And to draw on more speedy misery,
The king vnto a fatall match is led
With *Rayners* daughter king of *Sicilie*,
Whom with vnlucky starres he married:
For by the meanes of this affinitie
Was lost all that his Father conquered,
Euen as if *Fraunce* had some *Erynnis* sent
T'auenge their wrongs done by the insolent.

This Rainer was Duke of Anion & only inioid the title of the K. of Sicilia.

61

This marriage was the *Duke* of *Suffolks* deed
With great rewardes won to effect the same:
Which made him that he tooke so little heed
Vnto his countries good, or his owne shame:
Being a match could stand vs in no steed
For strength, for wealth, for reputation, fame:
But cunningly contriued for their gaine
To cost vs more then *Anion*, *Mauns*, and *Maine*.

Which were deliuered vp to her father vpon the match.

62

And yet as if he had accompliſhed
Some mighty benefit vnto the land;
He gote his trauailes to be regiſtred
In Parliment, for euermore to ſtand
A witnes to approue all what he did:
To th' end that if hereafter it were ſcand,
Autoritie might yet be on his ſide,
As doing nought but what was ratifide.

63

Imagining th' allowance of that place (naught,
Would make that good the which he knew was
And ſo would his negotiation grace
As none would thinke it was his priuat faut:
Wherein though wit dealt wary in this caſe,
Yet in the end it ſelfe it ouer raught,
Striuing to hide he opened it the more,
His after care ſhewd craft had gone before.

64

Deare didſt thou buy ô king ſo faire a wife,
So rare a ſpirit, ſo high a minde the while:
Whoſe portion was deſtruction, dowry ſtrife,
Whoſe bed was ſorrow, whoſe imbracing ſpoile:
Whoſe maintenance coſt thee, and thine their life,
And whoſe beſt comfort neuer was but toyle:
What *Paris* brought this booty of deſire
To ſet our mighty *Ilium* here on fire?

I grieue that I am forst to say thus much,
To blame her, that I yet must wonder at;
Whose so sweet beauty, wit and worth were such,
As euerlasting admiration gat:
Yet doth my countries zeale so nerely touch
That I am drawne to say I know not what,
And yet ô that my pen should euer giue
Staine to that sex by whom her fame doth liue.

66

For sure those vertues well deserued a crowne,
And had it not beene ours, no doubt she might
haue matcht the worthiest that the world hath known
And now sate faire with fame, with glorie bright:
But comming in the way where sin was grown
So foule and thicke, it was her chance to light
Amidst that grosse infection of those times,
And so came staind with blacke disgracefull crimes.

67

And some the world must haue on whom to lay
The heauie burthen of reproach, and blame,
Against whose deedes th' afflicted may inuay
As th' only Authors, whence destruction came:
When yet perhaps twas not in them to stay
The current of that streame, nor helpe the same;
But liuing in the eie of Action so
Not hindring it, are thought to draw on wo.

68

So much vnhappie doth the mightie ſtand
That ſtand on other then their owne defence,
When as diſtruction is ſo neare at hand,
That if by weakenes, folly, negligence,
They do not comming miſerie withſtand
They ſhall be thought th'authors of the offence,
And to call in that which they kept not out, (bout.
And curſt as thoſe, that brought thoſe plagues a-

69

And ſo remaine for euer regiſtred
In that eternall booke of infamie:
When ô how many other cauſes lead
As well to that, as their iniquitie:
The worſt complots oft ly cloſe ſmothered,
And well ment deedes fall out vnluckily:
Whilſt the aggrieued ſtand not t'waigh th'intent
But euer iudge according to th'euent.

70

May not this t'excuſe thy Sinne ô *Queene*,
Nor cleare their faults that mightie Actors are:
I cannot but affirme thy pride hath beene
A ſpeciall meanes this commonwealth to marre:
And that thy wayward will was plainly ſeene
In vaine ambition to preſume too farre,
Hũfrey Duke of Gloſter. And that by thee the onely way was wrought
The *Duke* of *Gloſter* to his death was brought.

71

A man though seeming in thy thought to sit
Betweene the light of thy desires and thee,
Yet did his taking thence plainly permit
Others to looke to that they could not see
During his life, nor would aduenture it:
When his remoue quite made that passage free;
So by his fall thinking to stand alone
Hardly could stand at all when he was gone.

72

For this *Duke* as *Protector* many yeares
Had rul'd the land, during the kings young age:
And now the selfe same charge and title beares
As if he still were in his pupillage:
With such disgrace vnto the Queene appeares
That all incens'd with an ambitious rage
She doth conspire to haue him made awaie,
As who the course of her maine will doth staie.

73

Thrust thereinto not onely with her pride
But by her fathers counsell and consent,
That grieu'd likewise that any else beside
Should haue the honor of the gouerment:
And therfore he such deepe aduise applide
As forraine craft and cunning could inuent,
To circumuent an vnsuspecting wight
Before he should discerne of their despight.

And

74

And manie ready hands ſhee ſtraight doth find
To aide her deede, of ſuch as could not brooke
The length of one mans office in that kind
That to himſelfe th' affaires all wholly tooke:
And ruling all had neuer any minde
T' impart a part with others that would looke
To haue likewiſe ſome honor in their hands,
And grieu'd at ſuch ingroſſing of commaunds.

75

And had he not had ſuch a greedy loue
Of ſtill continuing of his charge too long,
Enuie had beene vnable to reproue
His acted life without ſhee did him wrong:
But hauing liu'd ſo manie yeeres aboue
He grieues now to deſcend to be leſſe ſtrong,
And kils that fame that vertue did beget,
Choſe to be held leſſe good, then ſeene leſſe great.

76

O could the mighty but giue bounds to pride
And weigh backe fortune ere ſhee pull them downe,
Contented with inough, with honors ſatiſſide,
Not ſtriuing how to make ſo much their owne
As to leaue nothing for the teſt beſide,
Who ſeeme by their high ſpreading ouergrowne:
Whilſt they themſelues remaine in all mens ſight
The odious marke of hatred and diſpight.

Then

Then ſhould not ô ſo many tragedies
Burthen our knowledge with their bloudy end,
Nor their diſgrac'd confounded families
From ſo hye pride to ſo low ſhame deſcend:
But planted on that ground where ſafety lies,
Their branches ſhould to eternity extend:
But euer thoſe that ouerlooke ſo much
Muſt ouerſee themſelues; their ſtate is ſuch.

78

Seuere he was, and ſtrictly did obſerue
Due forme of Iuſtice towardes euery wight,
Vnmoueable, and neuer won to ſwerue
For any cauſe in what he thought was right:
Wherein although he did ſo well deſerue,
In the licentious yet it bred deſpight;
So that euen vertue ſeemes an Actor too
To ruine thoſe fortune prepares to vndoo.

79

Thoſe, thus prouided whom the *Queene* wel knew
Hated his might, and glad to innouate
Vnto ſo great, and ſtrong a party grew
As eaſie t'was to ouerthrow his ſtate:
And onely hope of alteration drew
Manie to yeeld that had no cauſe to hate:
For euen with goodnes men grow diſcontent
Where ſtates are ripe to fall, and vertue ſpent.

And taking all the rule into her hand
(Vnder the ſhadowe of that feeble king)
The *Duke* ſh' excludes from office and command,
And in the reach of enmity doth bring
From that reſpected height where he did ſtand,
Whilſt malice ſcarce durſt mutter any thing:
When ſtraight the worſt of him comes all reueald
Which former feare, or rigor kept conceald.

81

Now is he taxed that he rather ſought
His priuate profit then the publique good,
And many things preſumptuouſly had wrought
Other then with our lawes, and cuſtomes ſtood:
As one that would into the land haue brought,
The ciuile forme in caſes touching bloud, (found,
And ſuch poore crimes that ſhewd their ſpight was
But yet bewraide, their matter wanted ground.

82

Yet ſeru'd they well the turne, and did effect
That which is eaſie wrought in ſuch a caſe,
Where what ſuborned *Juſtice* ſhall obiect
Is to the purpoſe, and muſt paſſe with grace:
And what the wretched bring of no effect
Whoſe hainous faults his matter muſt deface:
For where powre hath decreed to find th' offence
The cauſe is better ſtill then the defence.

83

A *Parlament* at Berry ſummoned
Diſpatcht the deed more ſpeedily then well,
For thither came the *Duke* without all dread
Or ought imagining of what befell:
Where as the matter is ſo followed
That he conuented is ere he could tell
He was in danger or had done offence,
And preſently to priſon ſent from thence.

84

Which quicke, and ſodaine action gaue no time
For men to weigh the iuſtice of the deed,
Whilſt looking only on the vrged crime
Vnto the farther drift they take no heed:
For theſe occaſions taken in the prime
Of courſes new, that old diſlikes ſucceed,
Leaue not behind that feeling touch of wrong,
Sacietie makes paſſions ſtill leſſe ſtrong.

85

And yet they ſeem'd ſome mutiny to doubt
For thus proceeding with a man of might,
Seeing he was moſt popular and ſtout
And reſolute would ſtand vpon his right:
And therefore did they caſt this way about
To haue him cloſely murdred out of ſight,
That ſo his trouble, and his death hereby
Might come togi ther and togither dye.

Reckning it better ſince his end is ment
And muſt be wrought, at once to rid it cleere
And put it to the fortune of th'euent,
Then by long doing to be long in feare:
When in ſuch courſes of high puniſhment
The deed and the attempt like daunger beare;
And oft things done perhaps doe leſſe anoy
Then may the doing handled with delay.

87

And ſo they had it ſtraight accompliſhed,
For that day after his committing he
Is dead brought foorth being found ſo in his bed,
Which was by ſodaine ſicknes ſaid to bee
That had vpon his ſorrowes gathered,
As by apparant tokens men might ſee:
And thus ô *Sicknes* thou art oft belide,
When death hath many waies to come beſide.

88

Are theſe the deedes hye forraine wits inuent?
Is this that wiſedome whereof they ſo boaſt?
O then I would it neuer had beene ſpent
Here amongſt vs, nor brought from out their coaſt!
O let their cunning in their limits pent
Remaine amongſt themſelues that like it moſt!
And let the *North* they count of colder bloud
Beheld more groſſe, ſo it remaine more good.

Let

Let them haue fairer citties, goodlier ſoiles,
And ſweeter fields for beautie to the eie,
So long as they haue theſe vngodly wiles,
Such deteſtable vile impietie:
And let vs want their vines, their fruites the whiles,
So that we want not faith and honeſtie,
We care not for thoſe pleaſures, ſo we may
Haue better harts, and ſtronger hands then they.

90

Neptune keepe out from thy imbraced Ile
This foule contagion of iniquitie;
Drowne all corruptions comming to defile
Our faire proceedings ordred formally;
Keepe vs mere *Engliſh*, let not craft beguile
Honor and Iuſtice with ſtrang ſubtiltie:
Let vs not thinke, that that our good can frame,
Which ruinde hath the Authors of the ſame.

91

But by this impious meanes that worthy man
Is brought vnto this lamentable end,
And now that current with maine fury ran
(The ſtop remou'd that did the courſe defend)
Vnto the full of miſchiefe that began
T'a vniuerſall ruine to extend,
That *Iſthmus* failing which the land did keepe
From the intire poſſeſſion of the deepe.

92

And now the king alone all open lay,
No vnderprop of bloud to ſtay him by,
None but himſelfe ſtandes weakely in the way
Twixt *Yorke* and the affected ſou'raignty:
Gone is that barre that would haue beene the ſtay
T'haue kept him backe from mounting vp ſo hie.
But ô in what a ſtate ſtand theſe men in
That cannot liue without, nor with their kin?

93

The *Queene* hath yet by this her full deſire
And now ſhe with her minion *Suffolke* raignes,
Now ſhee hath all authority intire,
And all affaires vnto her ſelfe retaines:
And only *Suffolke* is aduanced hyre,
He is the man rewarded for his paines:
He that did her inſteed moſt chiefly ſtand,
And more aduanc'd her, then he did the land.

94

Which when they ſaw who better did expect,
Then they beganne their error to deſcry,
And well perceiue that only the defect
Was in their iudgements, paſſion-drawne awry:
Found, formall rigour fitter to direct
Then pride and inſolent inconſtancie;
Better ſeuerity that's right and iuſt
Then impotent affections led with luſt.

And

And thereupon in sorrow thus complaine:
O what great inconuenience do they feele,
Where as such imbecility doth raigne
As so neglectes the care of common weale?
Where euer one or other doth obtaine
So high a grace thus absolute to deale:
The whilst th' aggrieued subiect suffers still
The pride of some predominating will.

96

And euer one remou'd, a worse succeedes;
So that the best that we can hope is warre,
Tumults and stirres, that this disliking breedes,
The sword must mend, what insolence doth marre:
For what rebellions, and what bloudy deedes
Haue euer followed where such courses are?
What oft remoues, what death of counsailers,
What murder, what exile of officers?

97

Witnes the *Spencers*, *Gaueston* and *Vere*
The mighty minions of our feebleſt kings;
Who euer subiects to their subiects were,
And only the procurers of these things:
When worthy *Monarches* that hold honor deare
Maister themselues, and theirs; which euer brings
That vniuersall reuerence, and respect:
For who waighes him that doth himselfe neglect?

98

And yet our caſe is like to be farre worſe
Hauing a king though not ſo bent to ill,
Yet ſo neglecting good, that giuing force
By giuing leaue doth all good order kill:
Suffring a violent woman take her courſe
To manage all according to her will,
Which how ſhe doth begin, her deeds expreſſe,
And what will be the end, our ſelues may geſſe.

99

Thus well they deem'd what after followed
When now the ſhamefull loſſe of *Fraunce* much (grieues,
Which vnto *Suffolke* is attributed
As who in all mens ſight moſt hatefull liues:
He with the enemy confedered
Betraies the ſtate, and ſecret knowledge giues
Of all our ſtrength; that all which we did hold
By his corruption is or loſt or ſold.

Articles obiected againſt de la Poole Duke of Suffolke.

100

And as he deales abroad, ſo likewiſe here
He robs at home, the treaſurie no leſſe
Here, where he all authorities doth beare
And makes a *Monopoly* of offices:
He is in riche, h' is raiſd, and placed neere
And only he giues counſaile to oppreſſe:
Thus men obiect, whilſt many vp in armes
Offer to be reuenged of theſe harmes.

101

The *Queene* perceiuing in what caſe ſhee ſtood,
To looſe her minion or ingage her ſtate;
(After with long contention in her bloud
Loue and ambition did the cauſe debate)
Shee yeeldes to pride, and rather thought it good
To ſacrifice her loue vnto their hate,
Then to aduenture elſe the loſſe of all
Which by maintaining him was like to fall.

102

Yet ſeeking at the firſt to temporize,
She tries if that ſome ſhort impriſonment
would calme their heat; when that would not ſuffize,
Then to exile him ſhee muſt needes conſent:
Hoping that time would ſalue it in ſuch wiſe
As yet at length they might become content,
And ſhee againe might haue him home at laſt,
When the firſt fury of this rage was paſt.

103

But as he to his iudged exile went,
Hard on the ſhore he comes incountered
By ſome, that ſo far off his honor ſent,
As put his backe-returne quite out of dread:
For there he had his rightfull puniſhment
Though wrongly done, and there he loſt his head,
Part of his bloud hath *Neptune*, part the ſand,
As who had miſchiefe wrought by ſea and land.

104

Whose death when swift-wingd fame at full con-
Vnto the trauaild *Queen* misdoubting nought, (uaid
Despight and sorrow such affliction laid
Vpon her soule as wondrous passions wrought:
O God (saith she) and art thou thus betraid?
And haue my fauours thy destruction brought?
Is this their gaine whom highnes fauoureth,
Who chiefe preferd, stand as preferd to death?

105

O fatall grace without which men complaine
And with it perish, what preuailes that we
Thus beare the title of a soueraigne,
And suffred not to be that which we be?
O must our subiects limit and constraine
Our fauors where as they themselues decree?
Must we our loue at their appointment place?
Do we commaund, and they direct our grace?

106

O will they then our powre, and will deuide?
And haue we might, but must not vse our might?
Poore maiestie that other men must guide
Whose discontent can neuer looke aright:
For euermore we see those that abide
Gracious in ours, are odious in their sight,
Who would all-maistring maiesty defeat
Of her best grace, that is to make men great.

Deere

107

Deere *Suffolke*, O I saw thy wofull cheere
When thou perceiu'dst no helpe but to depart:
I saw that looke wherein did plaine appeare
The lamentable meſſage of thy heart:
That ſeemd to ſay: O *Queene*, and canſt thou beare
My ruine ſo? the cauſe whereof thou art:
Canſt thou indure to ſee them worke their will
And not defend me from the hand of ill?

108

Haue I for thee aduentured ſo much,
Made ſhipwracke of my honor, faith and fame?
And doth my ſeruice giue no deeper touch
To thy hard heart better to feele the ſame?
Or doſt thou feare, or is thy weakenes ſuch
As not of force to keepe me from this ſhame?
Or elſe now hauing ſeru'd thy turne of me,
Art well-content my ouerthrow to ſee?

109

As if my ſight did read vnto thy minde
The lecture of that ſhame thou wouldſt forget,
And therefore peraduenture glad to finde
So fit occaſion doſt it forward ſet:
Or elſe thy ſelfe from dangerous toile t' vnwinde
Downe on my necke doſt all the burthen let;
Since kings muſt haue ſome hated worſe then they,
On whom they may the waight of enuy lay.

114

No *Suffolke*, none of this, my ſoule is cleere;
Without the thought of ſuch impiety:
Yet muſt I needes confeſſe that too much feare
Made me defend thee leſſe couragiouſly:
Seeing more Princes euer ruind were
By their immoderate fauoring priuately
Then by ſeueritie in generall,
For beſt h'is lik't, that is alike to all.

113

Thus in her paſſion lo ſhee vttered,
When as far greater tumults now burſt out,
Which cloſe and cunningly were practiſed
By ſuch as ſought great hopes to bring about:
For vp in armes in *Kent* were gathered
A mighty inſolent rebellious rout
Vnder a daungerous head; who to deter
The ſtate the more, himſelfe nam'd *Mortimer*.

112

The *Duke* of *Yorke* that did not idle ſtand
But ſeekes to worke on all aduantages,
Had likewiſe in this courſe a ſecret hand,
And hartned on their chiefe accomplices,
To try how that the people of the land
Would (if occaſion ſeru'd) b'in readines
To aide that line if one ſhould come indeed
To moue his right, and in due courſe proceed.

Know-

113

Knowing himſelfe to be the onely one
That muſt attempt the thing if any ſhould,
And therefore lets the Rebel now runne on
With that falſe name t' effect the beſt he could
To make a way for him to worke vpon,
That but on certaine ground aduenture would:
For if the traitor ſped, the gaine were his;
If not, yet he ſtandes ſafe, and blameles is.

114

T' attempt with others dangers, not his owne,
He countes it wiſedome if it could be wrought:
And t' haue the honor of the people knowne
Was now that which was chiefly to be fought:
For with the beſt he knew himſelfe was growne
In that account, as made him take no thought,
Hauing obſeru'd in thoſe he ment to proue
Their wit, their wealth, their cariage, and their loue.

115

With whom and with his owne allianees
He firſt begins to open in ſome wiſe
The right he had, yet with ſuch doubtfulnes,
As rather ſorrow then his drift deſcries:
Complaining of his countries wretchednes
In what a miſerable caſe it lies,
And how much it importes them to prouide
For their defence againſt this womans pride.

116

Then with the discontented he doth deale
In sounding theirs, not vttering his intent,
As being sure not so much to reueale
Whereby they might be made againe content:
But when they grieued for the common weale
He doth perswade them to be patient,
And to indure there was no other course,
Yet so perswades as makes their malice worse.

117

And then with such as with the time did run
He doth in most vpright opinion stand,
As one that neuer crost what they begun,
But seem'd to like what stil they tooke in hand:
Seeking all causes of offence to shun,
Praises the rule, and blames th' vnrulie land:
Workes so with giftes, and kindlie offices
That euen of them he serues his turne no lesse.

118

Then as for those that were his followers
Being all choice men for vertues or desarts,
He so with grace, and benefits prefers,
That he becomes the monarch of their harts:
He drawes the learned for his Counsailers
And cherishes all men of rarest partes,
To whom good done doth an impression strike
Of ioie and loue in all that are alike.

119

And now by meanes of th'intermitted warre
Manie moſt valiant men impou'riſhed,
Onely by him fed and relieued are,
Onely reſpected, grac'd and honoured:
Which let him in, vnto their hearts ſo farre,
As they by him were wholy to be led:
He onely treades the ſure and perfect path
To greatnes who loue and opinion hath.

120

And to haue one ſome certaine prouince his
As the maine body that muſt worke the feate,
Yorkeſhire he choſe, the place wherein he is
By title, liuings, and poſſeſſions great:
No country he preferres ſo much as this,
Here hath his bountie her abiding ſeat,
Here is his Iuſtice and relieuing hand
Ready to all that in deſtreſſe do ſtand.

121

What with his tenants, ſeruants, followers, friends,
And their alliances, and amities,
All that *Shire* vniuerſally attendes
His hand held vp to any enterprize:
And thus farre vertue with her power extendes,
The reſt touching th'euent in fortune lies.
With which accomplement ſo mighty growne
Forward he tendes with hope t'attaine a crowne.

The end of the fourth booke.

119

And now by meanes of th'intermitted warre
Lantemost valiant men in pou'ished,
Onely by him so landrelieued are,
Onely respected, grac'd and honoured:
Which let him in, vnto their heauts so farre,
As they by him were wholy to be led:
He onely treades the ture and perfect path
To greatnes a holoue and opinion hath.

120

And to haue one some certaine prouince his
As the maine body that must worke the seate,
Whyfore he chose, the place wherein he is
By title, liuings, and possessions great:
No country he preferres so much as this,
Here hath his bountie her abiding seat,
Here is his Iustice and relieuing hand
Ready to all that in desresse do stand.

121

What with his tenants, seruants followers, friends,
And their alliances, and amities,
All that Shore vniuersally attendes
His hand held vp to any enterprize:
And thus faire vertue with her power extendes,
The rest touching th'euent in fortune lies.
With which accomplement so mighty growne
Forward he tendes with hope t'attaine a crowne.

The end of the fourth booke.

The fift Booke of the Ciuill warres betweene the two Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*.

THE ARGVMENT.

The bad ſucceſſe of Cades *rebellion,*
Yorks *open practiſe and conſpiracie,*
His comming in, and his ſubmiſſion,
Th'effect of Printing and Artillerie,
Burdeux *reuolts, craues our protection,*
Talbot *defending ours, dyes gloriouſly.*
The French wars end, & York *begins againe,*
And at S. Albones Sommerſet *is ſlaine.*

I

THE furious trayne of that tumultuous rout,
Whom cloſe ſubayding powre & good ſucceſſe,
Had made vnwiſely proud, and fondly ſtout,
Thruſt headlong on, oppreſſion to oppreſſe:
And now to fulnes growne, boldly giue out
That they the publique wrongs meant to redreſſe;
Formleſſe themſelues, reforming doe pretend,
As if confuſion could diſorder mend.

2

Iack Cade. And on they march with theyr falſe-named head,
Of baſe, and vulgar birth, though noble fayn'd,
Who puſt with vaine deſires, to London led
His raſh abuſed troupes, with ſhadowes trayn'd.
When as the King thereof aſſertained,
Suppoſing ſome ſmall power would haue reſtrain'd
Diſordred rage, ſends with a ſimple crew
Syr *Humfry Stafford*, whom they ouerthrew.

3

Which ſo increaſd th'opinion of theyr might,
That much it gaue to doe, and much it wrought,
Confirm'd their rage, drew on the vulgar wight,
Calld forth the timerous, freſh pertakers brought;
For many, though moſt glad theyr wrongs to right,
Yet durſt not venture theyr eſtates for nought:
But ſee'ing the cauſe had ſuch aduantage got,
Occaſion makes them ſtyr, that els would not.

4

So much he errs, that ſcornes or els neglects
The ſmall beginnings of aryſing broyles,
And cenſures others, not his owne defects,
And with a ſelfe conceite himſelfe beguiles:
Thinking ſmall force will compaſſe great effects,
And ſpares at firſt to buy more coſtly toyles.
When true obſeruing prouidence in war
Still makes her foes, far ſtronger then they are.

Yet

5

Yet thys good fortune all theyr fortune mard
Which fooles by helping euer doth ſuppreſſe:
For wareleſſe inſolence whilſt vndebard
Of bounding awe, runnes on to ſuch exceſſe,
That following luſt, and ſpoyle, and blood ſo hard,
Sees not how they procure theyr owne diſtreſſe:
The better, lothing courſes ſo impure,
Rather will like theyr wounds, then ſuch a cure.

6

For whilſt thys wilde vnrained multitude
(Led with an vnfore-ſeeing greedy minde
Of an imagin'd good, that did delude
Their ignorance, in theyr deſires made blind,)
Ranſack the Citty, and with hands imbrude,
Run to all out-rage in th'extreameſt kind,
Heaping vp wrath and horror more and more,
Adding freſh guilt, to miſchiefes done before.

7

And ſeeing yet all thys draw to no end
But to theyr owne, no promiſd ayde t'appeare,
No ſuch pertakers as they dyd attend,
Nor ſuch ſucceſſes as imagin'd were:
Good men reſolu'd the preſent to defend
Iuſtice againſt them with a brow ſeuere.
Themſelues feard of themſelues, tyr'd with exceſſe,
Found, miſchiefe was no fit way to redreſſe.

8

Like when a greedy Pyrat hard in chace
Purſuing of a rich ſuppoſed prize,
Works for the winds, plyes ſayles, beares vp a pace,
Out-runnes the clowdes, ſcoures after her that flyes,
Pryde in his hart, and wealth before his face,
Keepes his hands wrought, & fixed keepes his eyes,
So long, till that ingag'd within ſome ſtraight
He falls amid his foes layd cloſe in wayt:

9

Where all too late diſcouering round about
Danger and death the purchaſe of his haſt;
And no back flying, no way to get out,
But there to perriſh, or to yeeld diſgraſt,
Curſing his error, yet in th'error ſtout:
Hee toyles for life, now charges, now is chaſt:
Then quailes, and then freſh courage takes againe,
Striuing t'vnwind himſelfe, but all in vaine.

10

So ſtands thys rout in deſperat comberment,
Enuirond round with horror, blood, and ſhame:
Croſt of theyr courſe, diſpayring of th'euent
When pardon, that ſmooth bayt of baſenes came:
Pardon, (the ſnare to catch the impotent) (ſame,
Beeing once pronounc'd, they ſtraight embrace the
And as huge ſnowy Mountaines melt with heat,
So they diſſolu'd with hope, and home they get.

Leauing

11

Leauing their Captaine to discharge alone
The shott of blood consumed in theyr heat:
Too small a sacrifice for mischiefes done
Was one mans breath, which thousands dyd defeat.
Vnrighteous Death, why art thou but all one
Vnto the small offender and the great?
Why art thou not more then thou art, to those
That thousands spoyle, and thousands liues doe lose?

12

Thys fury passing with so quick an end,
Disclosd not those, that on th'aduantage lay,
Who seeing the course to such disorder tend,
With-drew theyr foote, asham'd to take that way;
Or els preuented whilst they dyd attend
Some mightier force, or for occasion stay,
But what they meant, ill fortune must not tell,
Mischiefe being oft made good by speeding well.

13

Put by from thys, the Duke of *Yorke* disaignes
Another course to bring his hopes about:
And with those frends affinity combines
In surest bonds, his thoughts he poureth out,
And closely feeles, and closely vndermines
The fayth of whom he had both hope and doubt:
Meaning in more apparant open course
To try his right, his fortune, and his force.

14

Loue and aliance had most firmly ioynd
Vnto his part, that mighty family
The fayre discended stock of *Neuiles* kind,
Great by theyr many issued progeny;
But greater by theyr worth, that cleerely shind
And gaue faire light to theyr nobilitie:
A mightie partie for a mighty cause
By theyr vnited amitie hee drawes.

15

For as the spreading members of proud *Po*,
That thousand-branched *Po*, whose limmes embrace
Thy fertile and delicious body so
Sweet *Lombardie*, and beautifies thy face:
Such seemd this powreful stock; frō whence did grow
So many great discents, spreading theyr race
That euery corner of the Land became,
Enricht with some great *Heroes* of that name.

16

But greatest in renowne doth *VVarwick* sit,
That great King-maker *VVarwick*, so far growne
In grace with Fortune, that he gouerns it,
And Monarchs makes, and made, againe puts downe;
What reuolutions his first mouing wit
Heere brought about, are more then too well known;
That fatall kindle-fire of those hote dayes,
Whose worth I may, whose worke I cannot prayse.

With

17

With him, with *Richard* Earle of Salisbury,
Courtny and *Brooke*, his moſt aſſured frends,
Hee intimates his minde, and openly,
The preſent bad proceedings diſcommends;
Laments the ſtate, the peoples miſery,
And that which ſuch a pittyer ſeldom mends,
Oppreſion, that ſharpe two edged ſword
That others wounds, and wounds likewiſe his Lord.

18

My Lord, ſayth he, how things are carryed heere
In thys corrupted ſtate, you plainly ſee,
What burden our abuſed ſhoulders beare
Charg'd with the weight of imbecillitie;
And in what baſe account all we appeare
That ſtand without their grace that all muſt be:
And who they be, and how their courſe ſucceeds,
Our ſhame reports, and time bewrayes theyr deeds.

19

Anion and *Maine*, (O maine that foule appeares,
Eternall ſcarre of our diſmembred Land)
And, *Guien's* loſt, that did three hundred yeeres
Remaine ſubiected vnder our commaund.
From whence, me thinks, there ſounds vnto our eares
The voyce of thoſe deere ghoſts, whoſe liuing hand
Got it with ſweat, and kept it with theyr blood,
To doe vs, thankles vs, theyr of-ſpring good.

And

20

And seeme to cry; O how can you behold
Their hatefull feet vpon our graues should tread?
Your Fathers graues, who gloriously dyd hold
That which your shame hath left recouered.
Redeeme our Tombes, O spirits too too cold,
Pull backe these Towres our Armes haue honored:
These Towres are yours, these Forts we built for you,
These walls doe beare our names, and are your due,

21

Thus well they may obrayd our rechlesnes,
Whilst we, as if at league with infamie,
Ryot away for nought, whole Prouinces;
Giue vp as nothing worth all *Normandy*,
Traffique strong holds, sell Fortresses,
So long, that nought is left but misery:
Poore *Callice*, and these water-walls about,
That basely pownds vs in, from breaking out.

22

And which is worse, I feare we shall in th'end
Throwne from the glory of inuading war,
Be forst our propper limmits to defend,
Where euer, men are not the same they are
Where hope of conquest doth theyr spyrits extend
Beyond the vsuall powres of valor far:
For more is he that ventureth for more,
Then who fights but for what he had before.

Put

23

Put to your hands therefore to reskew nowe
Th'indangered ſtate, dere Lords, from thys diſgrace,
And let vs in our honor, labour how
To bring thys ſcorned Land in better caſe:
No doubt but God our action will allow
That knowes my right, and how they rule the place
Whoſe weakenes calls vp our vnwillingneſſe,
As opening euen the doore to our redreſſe.

24

Though I proteſt it is not for a Crowne
My ſoule is moou'd, (yet if it be my right,
I haue no reaſon to refuſe myne owne)
But onely theſe indignities to right.
And what if God whoſe iudgements are vnknowne,
Hath me ordaynd the man, that by my might
My Country ſhall be bleſt; if ſo it be,
By helping me, you rayſe your ſelues with me.

25

In thoſe whom zeale and amitie had bred
A fore-impreſsion of the right he had,
Theſe ſtyrring words ſo much encouraged,
That with deſire of innouation mad,
They ſeem'd to runne before, not to be led,
And to his fire doe quicker fuell ad:
For where ſuch humors are prepard before,
The opening them makes them abound the more.

226

Then counsell take they fitting theyr desire,
(For nought that fits not theyr desire is wayghd)
The Duke is straight aduised to retyre
Into the bounds of Wales to leauy ayde;
Which vnder smooth pretence he doth require
T'amoue such persons as the state betrayd,
And to redresseth oppression of the land,
The charme which weakenes seldom doth withstand.

227

Ten thousand straight caught with this bait of breth
Are towards greater lookt-for forces led,
Whose power the King by all meanes trauaileth
In theyr arising to haue ruined:
But theyr preuenting head so compasseth,
That all ambushments warilie are fled,
Refusing ought to hazard by the way,
Keeping his greatnes for a greater day.

228

And to the Citty straight directs his course,
(The Citty, seate of Kings, and Kings cheefe grace)
Where finding of his entertainment worse
By far then he expected in that place,
Much disappoynted, drawes from thence his force,
And towards better truft marches a pace;
And downe in Kent (fatall for discontents)
Nere to thy banks fayre Thames doth pitch his Tents.

And

29

And there intrencht, plants his Artillery,
Artillery th' infernall instrument,
New brought from hell to scourge mortality
With hideous roring, and astonishment:
Engin of horror, fram'd to terrifie
And teare the earth, and strongest Towers to rent;
Torment of Thunder, made to mock the skyes,
As more of power in our calamities.

30

O if the fire subtile *Promethius* brought
Stolne out of heauen, did so afflict mankind,
That euer since plagu'd wyth a curious thought
Of styrring search, could neuer quiet find;
What hath he done who now by stealth hath got
Lightning and Thunder, both in wondrous kind?
What plague deserues so proude an enterprize?
Tell Muse, and how it came, and in what wise.

31

It was the tyme when fayre *Europa* sate
With many goodly Diadems addrest,
And all her parts in florishing estate
Lay beautifull, in order at their rest:
No swelling member vnproportionate
Growne out of forme, sought to disturbe the rest:
The lesse, subsisting by the greaters might,
The greater, by the lesser kept vpright.

32

No noyse of tumult euer wak'd them all,
Onely perhaps some priuat iarrs within
For tytles or for confines might befall,
Which ended soone, made better loue begin;
But no eruption dyd in generall
Breake downe theyr rest with vniuersall sin:
No publique shock dysioynted thys fayre frame,
Tyll *Nemesis* from out the Orient came.

33

Fierce *Nemisis*, mother of fate and change,
Sword-bearer of th'eternall prouidence,
That had so long with such afflictions strange
Confounded Asias proude magnificence,
And brought foule impious Barbarisme to range
On all the glory of her excellence,
Turnes her sterne looke at last vnto the West,
As greeu'd to see on earth such happy rest.

34

And for *Pandora* calleth presently,
(*Pandora*, *Ioues* fayre gift, that first deceiu'd
Poore *Epimetheus* imbecillitie,
That thought he had a wondrous boone receiu'd,
By meanes whereof curious mortalitie
Was of all former quiet quite bereau'd)
To whom being come, deckt with all qualities,
The wrathfull Goddesse breakes out in thys wise:

Dooſt

35

Dooſt thou not ſee in what ſecure eſtate
Thoſe floriſhing fayre Weſterne parts remaine?
As if they had made couenant with Fate
To be exempted free from others paine:
At one with theyr deſires, frends with debate,
In peace with pride, content with theyr owne gaine,
Their bounds cõtaine their minds, their minds applide
To haue their bounds with plentie beautified.

36

Deuotion, (mother of *Obedience*,)
Beares ſuch a hand on theyr credulity,
That it abates the ſpirit of eminence,
And buſies them wyth humble pietie:
For ſee what works, what infinite expence,
What monuments of zeale they edifie,
As if they would, if that no ſtop were found,
Fill all with Temples, make all holy ground.

37

But we muſt coole thys all-beleeuing zeale,
That hath enioyd ſo fayre a turne ſo long,
And other reuolutions muſt reueale,
Other deſires, other deſignes among:
Diſlike of thys, firſt by degrees ſhall ſteale
Vpon the ſoules of men perſwaded wrong,
And th'abus'd power that ſuch a power hath got,
Shall giue herſelfe the ſword to cut her throat.

38

Goe thou therefore with all thy ſtyrring trayne
Of ſwelling ſciences, (the gyfts of greefe)
Goe looſe the lynks of that ſoule-binding chayne,
Inlarge thys vninquiſitiue beleefe;
Call vp mens ſpirits, whom darknes doth detaine,
Enter theyr harts, and Knowledge make the theefe
To open all the doores to let in light,
That all, may all things ſee, but what is right.

39

Opinion Arme againſt opinion growne,
Make new-borne contradiction ſtill ſo riſe
As if Thebes-founder *Cadmus* tongues had ſowne
In ſtead of teeth, for greater mutinies.
Bring lyke defended fayth againſt fayth knowne,
Weary the ſoule with contrarieties:
Till all Religion become retrograde,
And that fayre tyre, the maske of ſin be made.

40

And better to effect a ſpeedy end,
Let there be found two fatall inſtruments,
The one to publiſh, th' other to defend
Impious contention, and proud diſcontents:
Make that inſtamped Characters may ſend
Abroad to thouſands, thouſand mens intents,
And in a moment, may diſpatch much more
Then could a world of pennes performe before.

Whereby

41

Whereby all quarrels, tytles, ſecrecies,
May vnto all be preſently made knowne,
Factions prepard, parties allur'd to riſe,
Sedition vnder fayre pretentions ſowne;
Whereby the vulgar may become ſo wiſe,
That with a ſelfe preſumption ouer-growne
Hee may of deepeſt miſteries debate,
Controule his betters, cenſure acts of ſtate.

42

And then, when this diſperſed miſchiefe ſhall
Haue brought confuſion in each miſterie,
Calld vp contempt of all ſtates generall,
Ripened the humor of impietie,
Then haue they th' other Engin, where-with-all
They may torment theyr ſelfe-wrought miſery,
And ſcourge each other, in the ſtrangeſt wiſe
As tyme or Tyrants neuer could deuiſe.

43

For by this ſtratagem they ſhall confound
All th' ancient forme and diſcipline of war:
Alter theyr camps, alter theyr fights, theyr ground,
Daunt mighty ſpirits, proweſſe and manhood mar;
For baſeſt cowards from a far ſhall wound
The moſt couragious, forſt to fight a far;
Valor rapt vp in ſmoake, as in the night,
Shall perriſh without witnes, without fight.

But

44

But first, before thys generall disease
Breake forth into so great extreamity,
Prepare it by degrees; first kill thys ease,
Spoyle thys proportion, mar thys harmony;
Make greater States vpon the lesser seaze,
Ioyne many kingdoms to one soueraignty,
Rayse a few great, that may with greater power
Slaughter each other, and mankind deuoure.

45

And first begin with factions, to deuide
The fayrest land, that from her thrusts the rest,
As if shee car'd not for the world beside,
A world within her selfe, with wonders blest;
Rayse such a strife as tyme shall not decide,
Till the dere blood of most of all her best
Be poured forth, and all her people tost
With vnkind tumults, and almost all lost.

46

Let her be made the sable Stage whereon
Shall first be acted bloody Tragedies:
That all the neighbour States gazing thereon,
May make their profit by her miseries.
And those whom shee before had march'd vpon,
(Hauing by this both tyme and meane to rise)
Made martiall by her Armes, shall grow so great,
As saue theyr owne, no force shall them defeat.

That

47

That when theyr power vnable to ſuſtaine
And beare it ſelfe, vpon it ſelfe ſhall fall,
Shee may (recouered of her wounds againe)
Sit and behold theyr parts as tragicall:
For there muſt come a tyme that ſhall obtaine
Truce for diſtreſſe. When make-peace *Hymen* ſhall
Bring the conioyned aduers powers to bed,
And ſet the Crowne made one, vpon one head.

48

Out of which bleſſed vnion ſhall ariſe
A ſacred branch, with grace and glory bleſt,
Whoſe vertue ſhall her Land ſo patronize,
As all our power ſhall not her dayes moleſt:
For ſhee, fayre ſhee, the Minion of the skyes,
Shall purchaſe of the highe'ſt to hers ſuch reſt,
(Standing betweene the wrath of heauen and them)
As no diſtreſſe ſhall touch her Diadem.

49

Though thou ſhalt ſeeke by all the means thou may,
And Arme impiety and hell and all;
Styrre vp her owne, make others to aſſay,
Bring fayth diſguiſd, the power of *Pluto* call,
Call all thy crafts to practiſe her decay,
And yet ſhall thys take no effect at all:
For ſhee ſecure, (as intimate with Fate)
Shall ſit and ſcorne thoſe baſe diſsignes of hate.

50

And from the Rocks of safety shall discry
The wondrous wracks that wrath layes ruined,
All round about her, blood and misery,
Powers betrayd, Princes slaine, Kings massacred,
States all-confusd, brought to calamitie,
And all the face of kingdoms altered.
Yet she the same inuiolable stands,
Deere to her owne, wonder to other Lands.

51

But let not her defence discourage thee,
For neuer none but shee, shall haue thys grace
From all disturbs to be so long kept free,
And with such glory to discharge that place:
And therefore, if by such a power thou be
Stopt of thy course, reckon it no disgrace;
Sith shee alone (being priuiledg'd from hie)
Hath thys large Patent of eternitie.

52

This charge the Goddesse gaue, when ready straight
The subtill messenger accompayned
With all her crew of crafts that on her wayt,
Hastes to effect what shee was counsailed:
And out shee pours of her mimens conceit,
Vpon such searching spirits as trauailed
In penetrating hidden secrecies,
Who soone these meanes of misery deuise.

53

And boldly breaking with rebellious minde
Into theyr mothers close-lockt Treasury,
They mineralls combustible doe finde,
Which in stopt concaues placed cunningly
They fire, and fire imprisoned against kind,
Teares out away, thrusts out his enemy,
Barking with such a horror, as if wroth
With man, that wrongs himselfe and nature both.

54

And this beginning had this cursed frame,
Which *Yorke* hath now planted against his King,
Presuming by his power, and by the same,
His purpose vnto good effect to bring;
When diuers of the graueſt Counsell came
Sent from the King, to vnderstand what thing
Had thrust him into these proceedings bad,
And what he sought, and what intent he had.

55

Who with words mildly-sharp, gently-seuere,
Wrought on those wounds that must bee toucht with heed,
Applying rather salues of hope then feare,
Least corasiues should desperat mischiefes breed.
And what my Lord, sayd they, should moue you here
In thys vnseemely manner to proceed,
Whose worth being such, as all the Land admires,
Hath fayrer wayes then these to your desires?

56

Will you whose meanes, whose many friends, whose grace,
Can work the world in peace vnto your wil,
Take such a course as shall your blood deface,
And make by handling bad, a good cause ill?
How many harts hazard you in thys case,
That in all quiet plots would ayde you still,
Hauing in Court a Partie far more strong,
(Then you conceiue) prest to redresse your wrong.

57

Fy, fy, forsake thys hatefull course, my Lord,
Downe with these Armes that will but wound your cause
What peace may do, hazard not with the sword,
Fly from the force that from your force with-drawes,
And yeeld, and we will mediat such accord
As shall dispence with rigor and the lawes:
And interpose thys solemne fayth of our
Betwixt your fault, and the offended power.

58

Which ingins of protests, and proffers kinde,
Vrg'd out of seeming greefe, and shewes of loue,
So shooke the whole foundation of his minde,
As it dyd all his resolution moue:
And present seem'd vnto theyr course inclind,
So that the King would *Sommerset* remoue;
The man whose most intollerable pride,
Trode downe his worth, and all good mens beside.

Which

59

Which they there vow'd ſhould preſently be done;
For what will not peace-louers willing grant
Where dangerous euents depend thereon,
And men vnfurniſht, and the ſtate in want?
And if with words, the conqueſt will be won,
The coſt is ſmall: and who holds breath ſo ſcant
As then to ſpare, tho' againſt his dignity,
Better diſcend, then end in maieſtie.

60

And here-vpon the Duke diſſolues his force,
Submits him to the King, on publique vow.
The rather to, preſuming on thys courſe
For that his ſonne the Earle of *March* was now
With mightier powers abroad, which would enforce
His peace, which els the King would not allow.
For ſeeing not all of him in him he hath,
His death would but gyue life to greater wrath.

61

Yet comming to the King, in former place
Hys foe, the Duke of *Sommerſet* he finds,
Whom openly reproching to hys face,
Hee charg'd with treaſon in the higheſt kinds.
The Duke returnes lyke ſpeeches of dyſgrace,
And fiery words bewrayd theyr flaming minds:
But yet the tryall was for them deferd
Till fitter tyme allow'd it to be heard.

62

At Weſtminſter a Counſell gathered
Deliberats what courſe the cauſe ſhould end
Of th'apprehended Duke of *Yorke*, whoſe head
Doth now on others doubtfull breath depend;
Law fiercely vrgd his deed, and found him dead,
Frends fayld to ſpeake where they could not defend:
Onely the King himſelfe for mercy ſtood,
As prodigall of lyfe, nyggard of blood.

63

And as if angry with the Lawes of death,
And why ſhould you, ſayd he, vrge things ſo far?
You, that invr'd with mercinary breath,
And hyred tongue ſo peremptory are?
Brauing on him whom ſorrow proſtrateth,
As if you dyd with poore affliction war,
And pray on frailty, folly hath betrayd,
Bringing the lawes to wound, neuer to ayd.

64

Diſpence ſometyme with ſterne ſeueritie,
Make not the lawes ſtill traps to apprehend,
Win grace vpon the bad with clemencie,
Mercy may mend whom malice made offend:
Death giues no thanks, but checks authority,
And lyfe doth onely maieſtie commend.
Reuenge dyes not, rigor begets new wrath,
And blood hath neuer glory, mercy hath.

63

And for my part, (and my part ſhould be chiefe)
I am moſt willing to reſtore his ſtate;
And rather had I win him with reliefe
Then looſe him with deſpight, and get more hate:
Pitty drawes loue, bloodſhed as natures griefe,
Compaſsion, followes the vnfortunate.
And looſing him, in him I looſe my power,
We rule who liue, the dead are none of our.

66

And ſhould our rigor leſſen then the ſame
Which we with greater glory ſhould retaine?
No, let hym lyue, his lyfe muſt giue vs fame,
The chyld of mercy, newly borne againe:
As often burials is Phiſitions ſhame,
So, many deaths, argues a Kings hard raigne.
Why ſhould we ſay, the law muſt haue her vigor?
The law kills him, but quits not vs of rigor.

67

You, to get more preferment by your wit,
Others, to gaine the ſpoyles of miſery,
Labour with all your power to follow it,
Shewing vs feares, to draw on cruelty.
You vrge th'offence, not tell vs what is fit,
Abuſing wrong-informed maieſtie:
As if our power, were onely but to ſlay,
And that to ſaue, were a moſt dangerous way.

Thus

68

Thus out of pitty ſpake that holy King,
Whom mylde affections led to hope the beſt.
When *Sommerſet* began to vrge the thing
With words of hotter temper, thys expreſt:
Deare ſoueraigne Lord, the cauſe in managing
Is more then yours, t'imports the publique reſt,
We all haue part, it touches all our good,
And lyfe's ill ſpard, that's ſpar'd to coſt more blood.

69

Compaſsion here is cruelty, my Lord,
Pitty will cut our throats for ſauing ſo.
What benefit ſhall we haue by the ſword
If miſchiefe ſhall eſcape to draw on mo?
Why ſhould we gyue what Law cannot afford
To' be'acceſſaries to our proper wo?
Wiſdom muſt iudge twixt men apt to amend
And minds incurable, borne to offend.

70

It is no priuat cauſe (I doe proteſt)
That moues me thus to proſecute his deede,
Would God his blood and myne had well releaſt
The dangers that his pryde is lyke to breed:
Although at me, he ſeemes to haue addreſt
His ſpight, tis not his end he hath decreed:
I am not he alone, hee doth purſue
But thorow me, he meanes to ſhoote at you.

For

71

For this course euer they deliberate
Which doe aspyre to reach the gouernment,
To take aduantage of the peoples hate,
Which euer hate those that are eminent:
For who can manage great affayres of state,
And all a wayward multitude content?
And then these people-minions they must fall
To worke out vs, to worke themselues int'all.

72

But note my Lord, first who is in your hand,
Then, how he hath offended, what's his end:
It is the man whose race would seeme to stand
Before your right, and doth a right pretend;
Who (Traytor-like) hath rayſd a mighty band
With coullor your proceedings to amend:
Which if it should haue hapned to succeed,
You had not now sate to adiudge hys deed.

73

If oftentimes the person not th'offence
Haue beene sufficient cause of death to some,
Where publique safety puts in euidence
Of mischiefe, likely by theyr lyfe to come;
Shall he, whose fortune and his insolence
Haue both deseru'd to dye, escape that doome?
When you shall saue your Land, your Crowne therby,
And since you cannot lyue vnlesse he dye?

74

Thys ſpake th'agreeued Duke, that grauely ſaw
Th'incompatible powers of Princes minds;
And what affliction his eſcape might draw
Vnto the ſtate, and people of all kinds.
And yet the humble yeelding and the aw
Which *Yorke* there ſhew'd, ſo good opinion finds,
That, with the rumor of his ſonnes great ſtrength
And French affayres, he there came quit at length.

75

For euen the feare t'exaſperat the heat
Of th' Earle of *March*, whoſe forward youth & might
Well followd, ſeem'd a proude reuenge to threat
If any ſhame ſhould on his Father light:
And then deſire in *Gaſcoyne* to reget
The glory loſt, which home-broyles hinder might,
Aduauntaged the Duke, and ſau'd his head,
Which queſtionleſſe had els been hazarded.

76

For now had *Burdeux* offered vpon ayd
Preſent reuolt, if we would ſend with ſpeed.
Which fayre aduantage to haue then delayd
Vpon ſuch hopes, had been a ſhamefull deed:
And therfore this, all other courſes ſtayd,
And outwardly theſe inward hates agreed:
Giuing an interpauſe to pride and ſpight,
Which breath'd but to break out with greater might.

VVhilſt

77

Whilſt dreadfull *Talbot* terror late of Fraunce
(Againſt the *Genius* of our fortune) ſtroue
The down-throwne glory of our ſtate t'aduaunce;
Where Fraunce far more then Fraunce hee now doth proue.
For frends, opinion, & ſucceeding chaunce,
Which wrought the weak to yeld, the ſtrong to loue,
Were not the ſame, as he had found before
In happyer tymes, when leſſe would haue done more.

78

The Duke of Britany and Burgundie.

For both the *Britayne* and *Burgonian* now
Came altred with our luck, & won with theirs
Thoſe bridges and the gates that dyd allow
So eaſie paſſage vnto our affayres.
Iudging it ſafer to endeuour how
To linke with ſtrength, then leane vnto diſpayres;
And who wants frends, to back what he begins
In Lands far of, gets not, although he wins.

79

Which too well prou'd thys fatall enterprize,
The laſt that loſt vs all we had to loſe:
Where, though aduantag'd by ſome mutenies,
And petty Lords that in our cauſe aroſe,
Yet thoſe great fayld; whoſe ready quick ſupplyes
Euer at hand, cheerd vs, and quaild our foes:
Succours from far, come ſeldom to our mind,
For who holds league with *Neptune*, or the wind?

80

Yet worthy *Talbot*, thou didſt ſo imploy
The broken remnants of diſcattered power,
That they might ſee it was our deſtiny
Not want of ſpirit that loſt vs what was our:
Thy dying hand ſold them the victory
With ſo deere wounds as made the conqueſt ſowre:
So much it coſt to ſpoyle who were vndon,
And ſuch a doe to win, when they had won.

81

For as a fierce couragious maſtiue fares
That hauing once ſure faſtned on his foe,
Lyes tugging on that hold, neuer forbeares
What force ſoeuer force hym to forgoe;
The more he feeles his wounds, the more he dares,
As if his death were ſweet in dying ſo;
So held his hold thys Lord, whilſt he held breath,
And ſcarce but with much blood lets goe in death.

82

For though he ſaw prepard againſt his ſide
Both vnlike fortune, and vnequall force,
Borne with the ſwelling current of theyr pryde
Downe the mayne ſtreame of a moſt happy courſe:
Yet ſtands he ſtiffe vndaſht, vnterrified,
His minde the ſame, although his fortune worſe;
Vertue in greateſt dangers being beſt ſhowne,
And though oppreſt, yet neuer ouerthrowne.

For

83

For reskuing of beſieg'd *Chatillion*
Where hauing firſt conſtraind the French to flye,
And following hard on theyr confuſion,
Comes loe incountred with a ſtrong ſupply
Of freſh-ariuing powers, that back thruſt on
Thoſe flying troupes, another chaunce to try;
Who double Arm'd, with ſhame, and fury, ſtraine
To wreake their foyle, and win theyr fame againe.

84

Which ſeeing, th'vndaũted *Talbot* with more might
Of ſpirit to will, then hands of power to doe:
Preparing t'entertaine a glorious fight,
Cheeres vp his wearied ſouldiers thereunto:
Courage, ſayth he, thoſe brauing troupes in ſight
Are but the ſame that now you dyd vndoe.
And what if there be come ſome more then they?
They come to bring more glory to the day.

85

Which day muſt eyther thruſt vs out of all,
Or all with greater glory back reſtore.
Thys day your valiant worth aduenture ſhall
For what our Land ſhall neuer fight for, more:
If now we faile, with vs is like to fall
All that renowne which we haue got before:
Thys is the laſt, if we diſcharge the ſame,
The ſame ſhall laſt to our eternall fame.

86

Neuer had worthy men for any fact
A more fayre glorious Theater then we:
VVhereon true magnanimity might act
Braue deeds, which better witnesſed could be.
For loe, from yonder Turrets yet vnſackt,
Your valiant fellowes ſtand your worth to ſee,
T'auouch your valour, if you liue, to gaine,
And if we die, that we dyde not in vaine.

87

And euen our foes, whoſe proud & powrefull might
VVould ſeeme to ſwallow vp our dignitie,
Shall not keepe backe the glory of our right
Which theyr confounded blood ſhall teſtifie:
For in theyr wounds our gored ſwords ſhall write
The monuments of our eternitie:
For vile is honor and a tytle vayne
The which true worth, and danger doe not gayne.

88

For they ſhall ſee when we in careleſſe ſort
Shall throw our ſelues on theyr deſpiſed ſpeares,
Tis not diſpaire that doth vs ſo tranſport,
But euen true fortitude, that nothing feares:
Sith we may well retire vs, in ſome ſort,
But ſhame on him that ſuch a foule thought beares;
For be they more, let Fortune take theyr part,
We'ill tugge her to, and ſcratch her, ere we part.

This

89

Thys ſayd, a freſh infuſd deſire of fame,
Enters theyr warmed blood, with ſuch a will
That they deem'd long they were not at the fame:
And thogh they march'd, they thought they yet ſtood ſtill,
And that their lingring foes too ſlowly came
To ioyne with them, ſpending much time ſo ill:
Such force had words fierce humors vp to call,
Sent from the mouth of ſuch a Generall.

90

Who weighing yet his force and theyr deſire,
Turnes him about in priuate to his ſonne, *The Lord Liſle.*
A worthy ſonne, and worthy ſuch a Sire,
Tells him the doubtfull ground they ſtood vpon,
Aduiſing him in ſecrete to retyre;
Seeing his youth but euen now begun,
Would make it vnto him at all no ſtaine,
His death ſmall fame, his flight no ſhame could gaine.

91

To whom th'agreeued ſonne as if dyſgrac'd
Ah Father, haue you then ſelected mee
To be the man, which you would haue diſplac'd
Out of the role of immortalitie?
What haue I done thys day that hath defac'd
My worth: that my hands worke diſpiſd ſhould bee?
God ſhield I ſhould beare home a Cowards name,
I haue liu'd enough, if I can dye with fame.

92

At which the Father toucht with ſorrowing-ioy,
Turnes him about, ſhaking his head, and ſayes:
O my deere ſonne, worthy a better day
To enter thy firſt youth in hard aſſayes.
And now had wrath, impatient of delay
Begun the fight, and farther ſpeeches ſtayes:
Fury thruſts on, ſtriuing whoſe ſword ſhould be
Firſt warmed in the wounds of th' enemie.

93

Hotely theſe ſmall, but mighty minded Bands
(As if ambitious now of death) doe ſtraine
Againſt innumerable armed hands,
And gloriouſly a wondrous fight maintaine:
Ruſhing on all what euer ſtrength with-ſtands,
Whetting theyr wrath on blood and on diſdaine;
And ſo far thruſt, that hard 'twere to diſcry
Whether they more deſire to kill, or dye.

94

Franke of theyr owne, greedy of others blood,
No ſtroke they giue but wounds, no wound but kills;
Neere to theyr hate, cloſe to theyr worke they ſtood,
Hit where they would, theyr hand obeyes their wills,
Scorning the blow from far that doth no good,
Loathing the crack vnleſſe ſome blood it ſpills:
No wounds could let out life that wrath held in,
Till others wounds reueng'd dyd firſt begin.

95

So much true resolution wrought in those
That had made couenant with death before,
That theyr small number scorning so great foes,
Made Fraunce most happy that there were no more
Sith these made doubtfull how Fate would dispose
That weary day, or vnto whom restore
The glory of a conquest deerely bought,
Which scarce the Conqueror, can think worth ought.

96

For as with equall rage, and equall might
Two aduers winds combat with billowes proude
And neyther yeeld: Seas, skyes maintayne like fight,
Waue against waue opposd, and clowd to clowd.
So war both sides vvith obstinate despight,
With like reuenge, and neyther party bowd:
Fronting each other vvith confounding blowes,
No wound, one sword vnto the other owes.

97

Whilst *Talbot*, whose fresh spirit hauing got
A meruailous aduantage of his yeeres,
Carries his vnfelt age as if forgot,
Whirling about where any neede appeares:
His hand, his eye, his wits all present, wrought
The function of the glorious part he beares:
Now vrging here, now cheering there he flyes,
Vnlocks the thickest troupes where most force lyes.

98

In midst of wrath, of wounds, of blood and death,
There is he most whereas he may doe best:
And there the closest ranks he seuereth,
Driues back the stoutest powres that forward prest:
There makes his sword his way, there laboureth
Th'infatigable hands that neuer rest,
Scorning vnto his mortall wounds to yeeld
Till Death became best maister of the field.

99

Then lyke a sturdy Oake that hauing long
Against the warrs of fiercest winds made head,
When with some forst tempestious rage, more strong,
His downe-borne top comes ouer-maistered,
All the neere bordering Trees here stood among,
Crusht with his waighty fall, lye ruined:
So lay his spoyles, all round about him slayne
T'adorne his death, that could not dye in vaine.

100

On th'other part, his most all-daring sonne
(Although the inexperience of his yeeres
Made him lesse skyld in what was to be done,
Yet dyd it thrust him on beyond all feares)
Flying into the mayne Batallion,
Neere to the King, amidst the chiefest Peeres,
With thousand wounds became at length oppreſt,
As if he scorn'd to dye, but with the best.

101

Who thus both hauing gaynd a glorious end,
Soone ended that great day that set so red,
As all the purple playnes that wide extend
A sad tempestious season witnessed:
So much a doe had toyling Fraunce to rend
From vs the right so long inherited,
And so hard went we from what we possest,
As with it, went the blood we loued best.

102

Which blood not lost, but fast layd vp with heed
In euerlasting fame, is there held deere,
To seale the memory of thys dayes deed,
Th'eternall euidence of what we were:
To which our Fathers, we, and who succeed,
Doe owe a sigh, for that it toucht vs neere:
Who must not sinne so much as to neglect
The holy thought of such a deere respect.

103

Yet happy haples day, blest-ill-lost breath,
Both for our better fortune, and your owne:
For what foule wounds, what spoyle, what shamefull (death,
Had by this forward resolution growne,
If at S. Albons, Wakefield, Barnet-heath,
It should vnto your infamie be showne?
Blest you, that dyd not teach how great a faute
Euen vertue is in actions that are naught.

104

Yet would thys ſad dayes loſſe, had now been all
That thys day loſt, then ſhould we not much playne,
If hereby wee had come but there to fall,
And that day ended, ended had our payne.
Then ſmall the loſſe of *Fraunce*, of *Guien* ſmall,
Nothing the ſhame to be turnd home againe
Compard with other ſhames. But now Fraunce loſt
Sheds vs more blood then all her winning coſt.

105

For looſing war abroad; at home loſt peace,
Be'ing with our vnſupporting ſelues cloſe pent.
And no diſſignes for pryde that did increaſe,
But our owne throats, & our owne puniſhment.
The working ſpyrit ceaſt not tho worke dyd ceaſe,
Hauing fit time to practiſe dyſcontent.
And ſtyrre vp ſuch as could not long lye ſtill,
Who not imployd to good, muſt needs doe ill.

106

And now the greeſe of our receiued ſhame
Gaue fit occaſion for ambitious care,
They draw the chiefe reproch of all the ſame
On ſuch as naturally hated are,
Seeing them apt to beare the greateſt blame
That offices of greateſt enuie beare.
And that in vulgar eares delight it breedes
To haue the hated, Authors of miſdeedes.

And

107

And therefore eafily great *Somerſet*
VVhom enuie long had fingled out before
VVith all the volie of diſgraces met,
As the maine marke Fortune had plac'd therefore:
On whoſe hard-wrought opinion ſpight dyd whet
The edge of wrath, to make it pierce the more.
Griefe being glad t'haue gotten now on whom
To lay the fault of what, muſt light on ſome.

108

Whereon th'againe out-breaking *Yorke* beginnes
To builde new models of his olde deſire,
Se'ing the fayre bootie Fortune for him winnes
Vpon the ground of thys enkindled ire.
Taking th'aduantages of others ſinnes
To ayde his owne, and helpe him to aſpire:
And doubting peace ſhould better ſcanne deeds paſt,
Hee thinks not ſafe, to haue his ſword out laſt.

109

Eſpecially, ſith euery man now preſt
To innouation doe with rancor ſwell,
A ſtyrring humor generally poſſeſt
Thoſe peace-ſpylt tymes, weary of beeing well:
The weake with wrongs, the happy tyr'd with reſt,
And many mad, for what, they could not tell.
The world euen great with change, thought it vvent
To ſtay beyond the bearing tyme ſo long. (wrong

110

And therefore now these Lords confedered
Being much increasd in number and in spight,
So shap'd theyr course, that drawing to a head,
Began to grow to be of fearefull might;
Th'abused world so hastie gathered,
Some for reuenge, some for wealth, some for delight,
That *Yorke* from small-beginning troups soone drawes
A world of men to venture in hys cause.

111

Lyke as proude Seuerne from a priuate head,
With humble streames at first doth gently glyde,
Tyll other Riuers haue contrybuted
The springing riches of theyr store beside,
Wherewith at length high swelling shee doth spread
Her broad descended waters layd so wide,
That comming to the Sea, shee seemes from far
Not to haue trybute brought, but rather war.

112

Euen so is *Yorke* now growne, and now is bent
T'incounter with the best, and for the best.
Whose neere approch the King hastes to preuent,
Seeking t'haue had his power, far of suppreſt:
Fearing the Citty, least some insolent
And mutinous, should harten on the rest
To take his part. But h'is so forward set,
That at S. Albones both the Armies met.

113

Whether they what far fewer hands dyd bring
Then els theyr better leyfure would haue done:
And yet too many for so foule a thing
Sith who dyd best, hath but dishonor won:
For whilst some offer peace sent from the King,
VVarwicks too forward hand hath war begun:
A war that doth the face of war deforme
Which still is foule, but foulest wanting forme.

114

Neuer dyd valiant Leaders so well knowne
For braue performed actions done before
Blemish the reputation of renowne
In any weake effected sentice more,
To bring such powres into so straight a Towne
As to some Citty-tumult or vprore:
Which slaughter, and no battaile might be thought,
Where that side vsd theyr swords, & this theyr throat.

115

But thys on *VVarwicks* wrath must needs be layd,
And vpon *Sommersets* desire t'obtayne
The day with peace, for which he longer stayd
Then wisdom would, or then was for his gayne:
Whose force in narrow streets once ouer-layd,
Neuer recouerd head, but there came slayne,
Both he, and all the Leaders els besides:
The King himselfe alone a prisoner bides.

A prisoner, though not to the outward eye,
For that he must seeme grac'd with his last day,
All things be'ing done for his commoditie,
Against such men as dyd the state betray:
For with such apt deceiuing clemencie
And seeming-order, Yorke dyd so allay
That touch of wrong, as made him make great shealth
In weaker minds, with shew of Common wealth.

117

Long-lookt-for powre thus got into his hand,
The former face of Court now altered,
All the supreameſt charges of commaund
Were to his ayders straight contributed:
Himselfe is made Protector of the land,
A tytle found, which onely couered
All-working powre vnder another style,
Which yet the greateſt part doth haſt the whyle.

118

The King held onely but an empty name
Left with his lyfe, whereof the proofe was such
As sharpeſt pryde could not transpersh the same,
Nor once, all-seeking Fortune durſt to tuch:
Impietie had not inlarged shame
As yet so wide as to attempt so much:
Miſchiefe was not full ripe for such a deede,
Left for th'vnbounded horrors that succeed.

The end of the fift Booke.